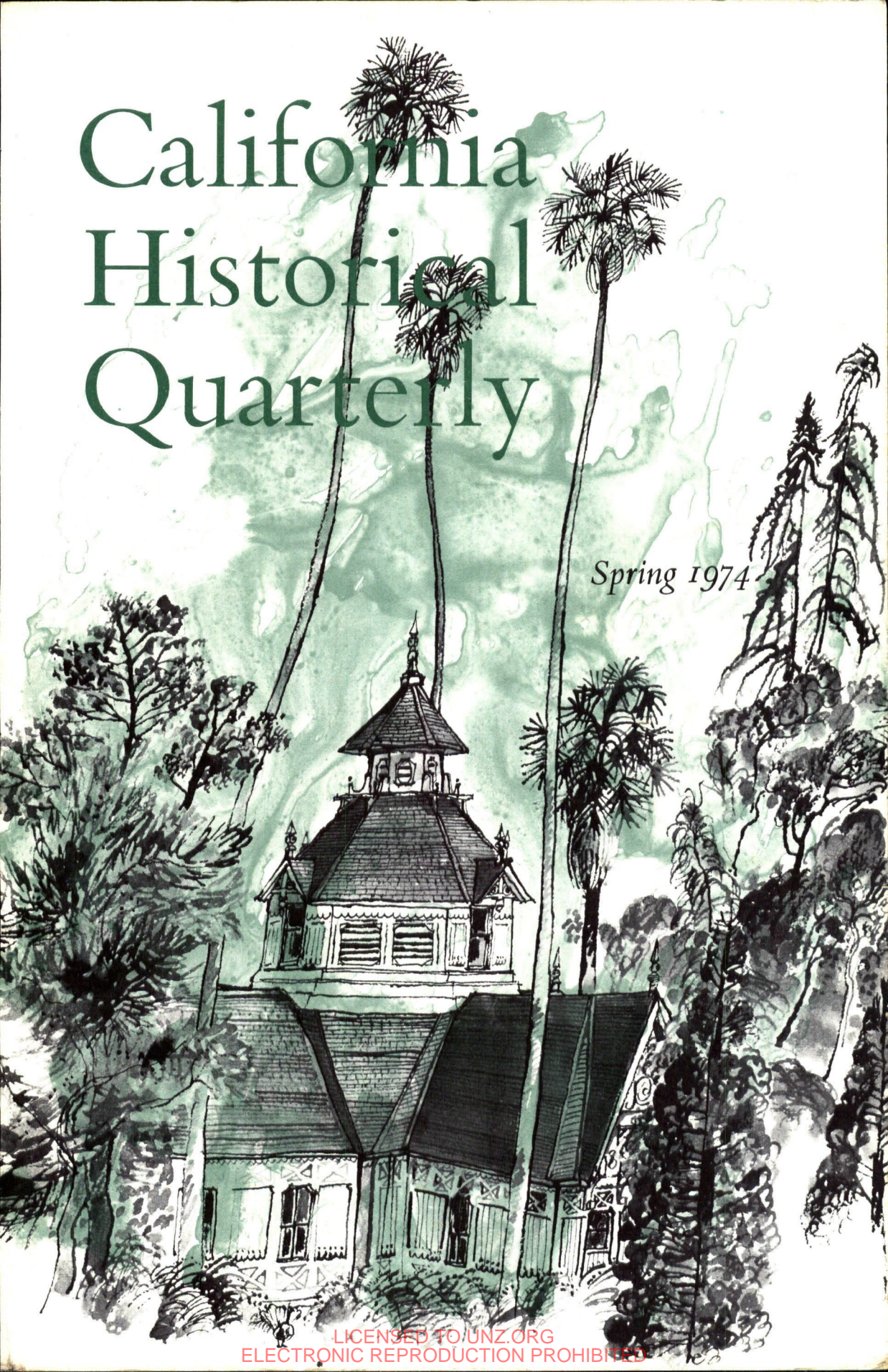


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COVER: It was a hot humid August at the Los Angeles Arboretum when artist Earl Thollander sketched Lucky Baldwin's Coach Barn, which is open to the public. The barn is painted a glistening white with bright red trim. It is a fancy barn, built in 1879, to house Baldwin's horses and coach four-in-hand.

The cover water color is among eighty by the author included in a forthcoming society publication, *Barns of California*. For more evocative glimpses of this fleeting California rural heritage, turn to page 41.

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VOLUME LIII

SPRING 1974

NO. I

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This water-color likeness of Hernán Cortés is probably the most authentic of all the portraits of the New World explorer. It was painted by the German artist, Christopher Weiditz, who sketched Cortés in Spain in the 1540's.

Cortés and the First Attempt to Colonize California

ROBERT RYAL MILLER

Professor of history, California State University, Hayward

HERNÁN CORTÉS, THE SPANISH CONQUEROR of the Aztecs of Mexico, was also the first effective European discoverer of California. Sailing from the west coast of New Spain in 1535, the fifty-year-old conquistador landed on the Baja California peninsula, which he thought was an island, and he named it Santa Cruz. Once ashore he established a settlement and took formal possession of the land, a ceremony required by existing Spanish laws. A few days later Cortés wrote a letter from Santa Cruz, the first letter from California, in which he briefly described his voyage and what he had seen thus far of the land and its native inhabitants. A contemporary notarized account of Cortés' "Act of Possession" of Santa Cruz and the original copy of his letter written from there are in the Spanish archives in Seville. Before taking a closer look at these historical items, it will be useful to review some of the events that led to Cortés' expedition to California.

Soon after the fall of the Aztec capital Cortés became active in exploration along the Pacific Ocean coast of New Spain. By the spring of 1522 his captains had reached the Pacific at the mouth of the Balsas River (present boundary between Michoacan and Guerrero) and in Oaxaca near the mouth of the Tehuantepec River. The following year some of his men moved north to Colima where they founded a town by that name. In a letter to the Spanish king, dated May 15, 1522, Cortés referred to his discovery of the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), mentioned that he was building ships to explore it, and asked for a commission giving him specific rights of discovery.¹ He established his west coast shipyards at Zacatula, near the mouth of the Balsas, and at Tehuantepec where the Chimalpa River flows into the Laguna Superior. These locations had ample timber, but anchors, sails, cordage, and naval supplies had to come from other colonial areas or from Spain.²

Belief in the existence of a strait uniting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, which would provide a more convenient route from Spain to the Spice Islands, influenced Cortés' plans for exploration. The Spanish king, convinced that there must be such a strait to the north of Panama, ordered Cortés to search for it.³ The conqueror sent an expedition up the east coast of Mexico, but delays plagued his operation on the Pacific side. First a fire destroyed a warehouse of critical naval stores, then when two ships were finally ready at Zacatula in 1527, a royal order

diverted them across the Pacific to the Moluccas. Cortés then ordered five new ships to be built at Tehuantepec.⁴

Rumors of pearls and Amazon warriors with gold-tipped spears also drew Cortés toward the northwest of New Spain. Some pearls were found along the west coast at Zacatula and in Colima, and in 1524 Cortés wrote the king that his men had heard of “an island populated only by women . . . they say it is very rich in pearls and gold.”⁵ He added that he would try to discover the truth about the island. A romance of chivalry, *Las Sergas de Esplandían* by García Ordóñez de Montalvo, published in Seville the previous decade and read by some of the conquistadors in New Spain, gave impetus to these reports. In that book there was an island named “California” where Amazon women lived and where pearls and precious stones were plentiful.

Between 1524 and 1530 political affairs kept Cortés from personally directing expeditions northbound along the Pacific coast of New Spain. His disastrous march to Las Hibucas, Honduras (1524–1526), to put down a revolt by one of his own men, was followed by government power struggles in Mexico City which led to his trip to Spain (1528–1530). When Cortés returned to Mexico in 1530, he came with the titles of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca and Captain General of New Spain, with a royal contract authorizing him to make new discoveries from the Pacific ports of New Spain. The concession read in part:

Since Don Fernando Cortés, Marquis of the Valley, wishing to serve us and for the welfare and growth of our royal crown, has offered to discover, conquer, and settle whatever islands there may be in the South Sea of New Spain . . . and whatever part of the mainland has not yet been discovered . . . we promise to make you our governor for life of all the said islands and lands which you discover and conquer . . . and that you will have civil and criminal jurisdiction in the cities, towns, and populated places in them.⁶

Before Cortés returned from Spain, one of his political enemies, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, president of the first *audiencia* (administrative court) of New Spain and governor of Pánuco and New Galicia, began to explore and conquer territory in the northwest of New Spain. He and his men advanced across the present states of Jalisco, Nayarit, and into Sinaloa, where they established many towns including Guadalajara, Compostela, and Culiacán. Some islands near the west coast were also discovered by these conquistadors.⁷ Guzmán’s *entrada* was illegal according to Cortés because he and his men had previously discovered, conquered, and claimed much of the area. In addition, he maintained that it was in violation of his 1529 royal contract for discovery. The dispute led to the famous legal case called the “Proceso” which eventually was brought before the Council of the Indies in Spain.

When Cortés, on returning to New Spain in 1530, learned of Guzmán’s activities in the northwest, he decided to carry his own discoveries beyond those of his rival. He imported two shiploads of horses from the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo, and he activated his Tehuantepec shipyard. During his absence in Spain, five vessels that he had under construction had rotted, and the equipment had been stolen or destroyed by actions of Guzmán and hostile government officials; thus, he ordered the construction of two new ships in Tehuantepec, and in 1531 he purchased two others which were on the stocks in Acapulco.⁸ The

marquis was spurred on by a royal order of July 12, 1530, notifying him that he must begin the building of his vessels within a year and have his fleet ready to sail in two years, under penalty of losing his privilege.⁹

When the two vessels at Acapulco were completed in the late spring of 1532, Cortés arranged that his cousin, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, would head an exploratory group bound for the northwest coast of Mexico. His instructions were to follow the coast, keeping the mainland in view while looking for islands, and to go beyond the territory reached by Guzmán and take possession of that land. Although Hurtado's men discovered and took possession of the islands known as Las Tres Marías and sailed northwest along the coast about a thousand miles, the expedition was a disaster. The flagship, *San Marcos*, was broken up near the mouth of the Fuerte River, and all hands were killed by hostile Indians. The *San Miguel*, driven ashore at Banderas Bay in Jalisco, was abandoned by the crew, and all but three were killed by the natives. Because it was in his jurisdiction, Guzmán took possession of the wrecked ship.¹⁰

Before he knew the fate of Hurtado, Cortés went to Tehuantepec where he remained for more than a year readying the next expedition with two ships built in that port. At the end of October, 1533, the vessels departed with a total of forty-three sailors and officers under the command of Diego Becerra de Mendoza who was aboard the *Concepción*. The other ship, the *San Lázaro*, captained by Hernando de Grijalva, soon became separated from the flagship and, after discovering an island about four hundred miles west of Colima (one of the Revilla Gigedo Islands), put in at Acapulco in February, 1534.¹¹

Meanwhile, aboard the *Concepción*, the pilot, Fortún Ximénez de Bertandoña, organized a mutiny and took over the ship by force. One survivor testified that "in the middle of the night, while Diego Becerra was sleeping, the said Fortún Ximénez and the above mentioned [brother of Ximénez] gave him many knife thrusts and wounds in the head, body, and arms, from which he died, and they threw him into the sea, and they wounded the purser [Juan de Carasa] of the ship."¹² The wounded men and two Franciscan friars were put ashore on the coast; then the mutineers sailed the *Concepción* westward where they anchored in a bay of what they thought was an island, undoubtedly La Paz Bay, Baja California. When Ximénez and about twenty of his men went ashore, all but one were killed by the Guaycuras Indians—the sole survivor escaped by swimming to the Spanish vessel where he reported the massacre. He also brought news that the natives had pearls. Then the four or five sailors aboard took the *Concepción* to the mainland where they landed near Chiametla which was near the mouth of the Baluarte River and about halfway between Compostela and Culiacán. Ashore, they told about an island of pearls and were soon arrested by a captain of Guzmán.¹³ One man escaped and eventually reported the news to Cortés.

When Cortés learned about Guzmán's detention of his ship and men and when he heard of pearls in the land discovered by Ximénez, he determined to go in person to assert his authority and to visit the pearl island. He also protested the seizure to the *audiencia* in Mexico City, who ordered Guzmán to return the ship and enjoined him from going to the island discovered by Ximénez. Then, to avoid a clash between the two conquistadors, a similar injunction was issued to Cortés, who protested vehemently.¹⁴

News about the newly-discovered island arrived while Cortés was contem-

plating abandoning discovery expeditions in favor of becoming a trader. In a letter to the Council of the Indies he wrote:

Being hesitant to follow up promptly this discovery [attempt] because of the bad luck of the two previous armadas . . . and for having left me overspent and even exhausted, I had decided to become a merchant, and with a ship that I had left and one being built, to send horses and other things to Peru and pay the debts I owed . . . [when] I learned almost miraculously, about the diligence that Nuño de Guzmán employed in guarding the secret that there had arrived in a port of his jurisdiction the flagship on which Diego Becerra and up to seven men had been murdered, and that the traitorous pilot [Ximénez] and the others had been killed by the natives of an island which had been discovered. And because of the good news that they brought from that land, Nuño de Guzmán had taken the ship and all aboard . . . and he was hurrying to send people in that ship to the discovered land. . . . I decided to abandon the trade route, to speed up [construction of] some ships which I had in the shipyard, and to lift my skirts and go to see this land.¹⁵

As soon as Cortés announced that he was recruiting soldiers and colonists for an expedition which he would personally lead, volunteers flocked to his standard.

Late in 1534 Cortés, with about two hundred soldiers, some settlers, and one hundred and fifty horses, started advancing overland from Cuernavaca to Chiametla, Sinaloa, his point of embarkation. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who fought with Cortés in the 1520's and half a century later wrote a history of the conquest, says that the total retinue was "three hundred and twenty persons, including the wives of thirty-four married soldiers . . . three smiths with their forges, two shipwrights with their tools . . . expert pilots and sailors . . . clergymen, physicians and surgeons with their pharmacy."¹⁶ Fray Martín de la Coruña, a Franciscan, accompanied Cortés. Three ships at Tehuantepec took on supplies of biscuits, meat, oil, vinegar, wine, maize, fodder, munitions, and other products before proceeding to the rendezvous of Chiametla where other ships were scheduled to arrive later with reinforcements. On January 9, 1535, Cortés was in Colima and a month later at the port of Calagua (Zalagua or Selagua on Manzanillo Bay) where he wrote that he and his forces were going to continue overland another one hundred leagues to Chiametla "so that the horses would arrive healthier at the new land, and because the ships, without passengers, could carry more supplies."¹⁷ By the end of February the marquis and his followers were at Ahuacatlán, Nayarit, not far from the headquarters of Guzmán.

Advised that Cortés and his small army were approaching, Nuño de Guzmán at first opposed their entry into his territory. On February 20 he sent an aide, Pedro de Ulloa, to Cortés' camp with a legal injunction which read in part:

Go to wherever the Marquis of the Valley might be and in the name of his Majesty, and in mine . . . notify him that he may not enter this government jurisdiction, and if he has entered, that he leave it immediately; thus he will perform service to his Majesty, [since he advances] without my license and express mandate.¹⁸

Four days later the emissary Ulloa encountered Cortés at the town of Ixtlán where, before witnesses and a notary, he read the order from his governor. Cortés' reply was a legal and literary masterpiece—reflecting his earlier training in law as an apprentice to a notary. Citing Spanish law, he said that he was not obliged to respect Guzmán's order because it was not prepared in proper legal form and

because "all the lands, provinces, kingdoms, dominions, and their seas and ports, are communal and free for all the vassals of his Majesty to travel and pass through, embark or navigate, which freedom no one can curtail without the express and special commission of his Majesty." Then Cortés mentioned that he held the office of captain general with authority to conduct military operations in all of New Spain. Basing a final argument on his 1529 royal concession to discover lands and islands along the Pacific coast, Cortés insisted that Governor Guzmán, instead of opposing him, was obligated by that contract "to support and render assistance to his expedition, of such importance to his Majesty, the exaltation of the Christian religion, and the growth of the kingdoms and dominions of his Majesty."¹⁹

Persuaded either by this letter, or by the lack of power to oppose the marquis' advance, Guzmán permitted the group to move on toward Chiametla. Surprisingly, when Cortés reached Compostela, probably early in March, 1535, he spent a few days in his rival's home. Nuño de Guzmán did, however, continue to write letters to authorities in Mexico City and Spain protesting the invasion of his territory and complaining that the soldiers were disturbing the Indians and taking food supplies by force.²⁰ He later testified that:

The Marquis came to the territory of [New] Galicia mistreating the Indians and sending them scurrying to the woods. . . . I had him in my house four days, supplying all his army of everything of which he had need, and I gave him Indians [bearers] and maize to take him to the town of Espíritu Santo [near Chiametla], because he had none.²¹

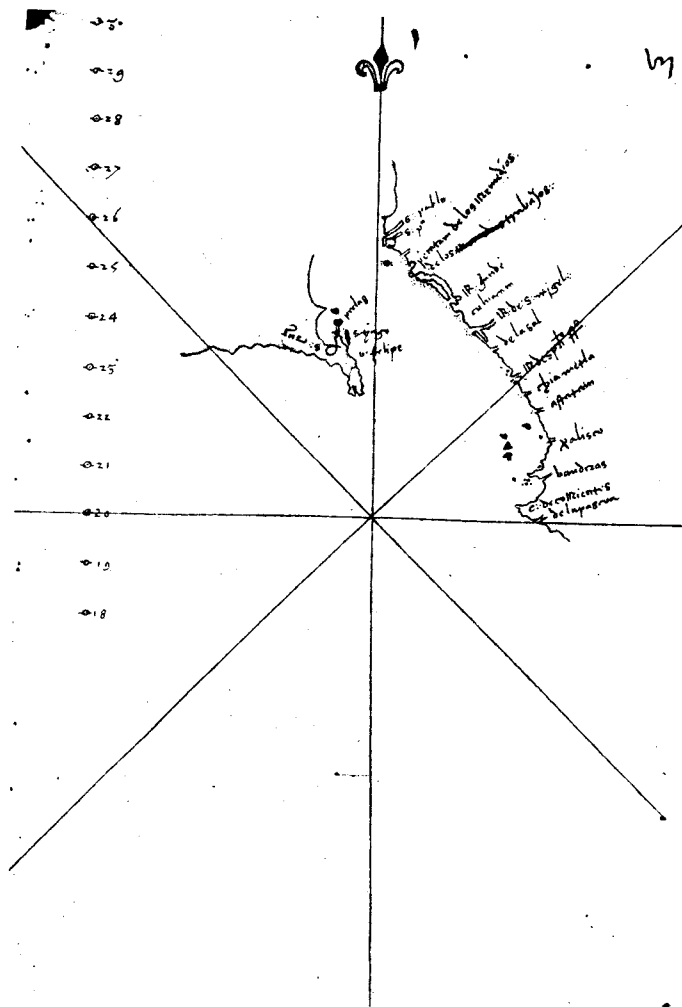
In April of 1535 the initial elements of Cortés' fleet and his soldiers and colonists joined forces on the west coast of Mexico for their crossing to the "island" discovered by Ximénez about sixteen months earlier. The port of embarkation, San Pedro Chiametla, was on the left bank of the Baluarte River less than a league from where it flows into the Pacific. Nearby were tiny Spanish settlements named Espíritu Santo and La Purificación. At Chiametla one hundred and thirteen infantry soldiers and forty cavalrymen boarded the ships from Tehuantepec: *San Lázaro*, *Santa Agueda*, and *Santo Tomás*. Cortés' secretary, chaplain, and biographer, the historian Francisco López de Gómara, said that "300 Spaniards, 32 women, and 130 horses were left behind under Andrés de Tapia for a later crossing."²² Departure for the "island" was on April 18, 1535. It seems likely that one or two sailors who had been with Ximénez now sailed with Cortés, a distinct advantage in uncharted waters.

The best way to describe Cortés' crossing of the gulf and his first days in Baja California is to cite in full his little-known letter written from Baja two weeks after his landfall and sent to Cristóbal de Oñate in Compostela:

Honorable Sir:

With the haste of my departure, I did not write you from the port of Espíritu Santo, and now this is only to let you know how I arrived at this port and bay of Santa Cruz, the day of the Holy Cross [3rd] of May, in honor of which this name was given to it.²³

I sighted land on May 1st, day of the two apostles [Felipe and Santiago],²⁴ and because there was a range of mountains in the part of land we saw, the name of San Felipe was given to the highest range. On this same day near this land we discovered an island that



was named Santiago [later called Cerralvo], and then we saw two others, one was named San Miguel Island [Espíritu Santo], and the other San Cristóbal [San José].

I took sixteen days on the crossing because of many calms and foul weather which I had. Of all the company only six horses were lost, among which was the sorrel which I was very sorry to lose. All the other horses and all the personnel arrived in good health thanks to our Lord.

I do not write to you about the form and condition of this land because I have not gone out to . . . [original torn] of dispatching these ships for the [remaining] people and horses . . . [torn]. We have seen many people and some have come . . . [torn] large quantity of pearls and fisheries of . . . [torn] found. When these ships leave, I will go inland . . . [torn] on returning will have more news of its secrets and more opportunity to enable us to report what we have seen.

I am not writing to the governor [Nuño de Guzmán] until there will be something more certain to write other than sending compliments to his honor. And to the Protector [of the Indians of New Galicia, Reverend Father Cristóbal de Pedraza],²⁵ also, Sir, give my regards and [say] that I will always take care to write to him and that I do not do so now for the reasons stated.

These letters I entrust to you, Sir; as soon as possible have them sent by a trustworthy

person who will be going to Mexico [City] to my cousin the licentiate [Juan] Altamirano.²⁶

May our Lord watch over your noble person, Sir, as you desire.

From the port and bay of Santa Cruz, May 14, 1535. At your service.

The Marquis²⁷

Cortés' letter from California is important because it clearly settles the question about his date of arrival in that land. Although some historians have cited the correct date, others have been off by six months or one or two years. Francisco López de Gómara in the second part of his *Historia General de las Indias*, published in the mid-sixteenth century, said that Cortés first arrived in Santa Cruz on May 1, 1536, a year later than the actual date. Unaccountably, the entry was changed to January 1, 1536, in the 1826 and later editions of Gómara's work.²⁸ Meanwhile, over the centuries historians who relied on Gómara repeated the erroneous dates.²⁹ As recently as 1964 an edited translation of Gómara's *Historia*, published under the title of *Cortés: The Life of The Conqueror by his Secretary*, Francisco López de Gómara, says that the marquis first landed at Santa Cruz "on New Year's Day of 1536."³⁰ Not only Gómara, but another sixteenth-century historian, Díaz del Castillo, wrote in his *True History* that Cortés "with a good voyage, arrived at the island, and it was in the month of May of 1536 or 1537."³¹

Besides Cortés' letter, another contemporary document that sheds some light on his activities in Baja California is the official Act of Possession, dated May 3, 1535. By performing a legally-prescribed ceremony, sixteenth-century Spaniards claimed territorial rights to newly discovered lands; cession of the lands by any native inhabitants was not considered necessary. Symbolic acts of possession were designed primarily to give notice to later European explorers that the territory had already been claimed even though there were no visible signs of occupation. Sometimes a cross or royal standard was erected, or a stone pillar or cairn set up, with or without a coat of arms or other inscription. Other acts included cutting trees, drinking water, or moving stones from one place to another. These acts were supposed to be witnessed by a royal notary, who would send a report back to Spain.³² If natives were present, the conquistadors were required to have a notary read to them, through an interpreter, the *requerimiento*. This was a long politico-religious manifesto which called on them to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope and kings of Castile, on pain of enslavement and confiscation of their wives and goods.³³

Obedying these Spanish regulations and customs, Cortés took formal possession of California on the day he first landed there. Excerpts from the notarized account give some details:

On the third day of the month of May, 1535, about midday, the very noble lord, Don Hernando Cortés, Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, Captain General of New Spain and the South Sea for his Majesty, arrived at a port and bay in a newly-discovered land in the South Sea. . . . Upon arrival he went ashore with personnel and horses, and there on the beach . . . in the name of his Majesty he took possession of the newly-discovered land where we were and all the rest adjacent to it and within its limits, so that from it as a start, the disclosure, conquest and settlement of it could be pursued, and as a sign and token of said possession, the Marquis named the port and bay "Santa Cruz." Then he

walked over the ground from one point to another, threw sand from one place to another, and with his sword he cut some trees that were there, and he commanded those present to accept him as his Majesty's governor of the lands, and he carried out other acts of possession.³⁴

Witnesses to this ceremony, whose names appear at the end of the legal document cited above, were Doctor Juan González de Valdivieso, Juan de Jaso, Alonso de Navarette, Fernando Arias de Saavedra, Bernardino de Castillo, Francisco de Ulloa, and Martín de Castro, a royal notary. Names of fifty-six men who claimed to have been in California with Cortés are in a sixteenth-century listing which was later published in Spain and Mexico.³⁵

The reaction of the Indians at La Paz Bay to the Spanish ritual and speeches is not recorded, nor is there any evidence as to whether the *requerimiento* was read to them. But we do know that there were Franciscans present who probably took that occasion to initiate their missionary work. The Act of Possession says that "all this transpired peacefully and without contradiction from any person," a marked contrast to the hostility shown Ximénez the previous year. No doubt the Indians were impressed by the large force of armed and armored men with Cortés, some of them astride their war-horses.

One week later, on May 10, Cortés again assembled all his men in California for a legal ceremony, a notarized account of which was sent to Spain. This time the marquis brought out and exhibited the 1529 royal contract authorizing him to make discoveries in the Pacific and naming him governor of any newly-discovered lands. By his command,

The royal provision was read aloud by Francisco de Pezafiel, public crier, to the formation of all the soldiers who were present, each one of whom said that he accepted the lordly Marquis as governor of this land, in the name of his Majesty. Then his lordship, in the presence of all, took the solemn oath which is required in such a situation, and he asked witnesses to testify.³⁶

Official witnesses were the same as on the Act of Possession, except that Francisco de Ulloa was named in the latter and Alonzo de Ulloa in the proclamation.

Unfortunately, there is no contemporary sustained or detailed account of Cortés' activities in California, and it is difficult to reconstruct what happened from the fragmentary references and documents. All we know is that he discovered the south coast of the peninsula, the cape now known as Cape San Lucas, and the region around La Paz Bay. In a 1539 law suit the marquis filed a small map showing the southern part of Baja California from La Paz Bay to Cape San Lucas, and ports on the mainland from the Sinaloa River (called the San Pedro and San Pablo) southward to Cape Corrientes.³⁷

On the California peninsula Cortés led or sent out some land reconnaissance parties, but apparently they found little of interest. Two of his men testified that they obtained forty pearls from the Indians, but the gems were burnt because the natives heated the oysters to extract the pearls.³⁸ Unlike the Indians on the mainland, the natives of California did not cultivate maize or other plants—they lived by fishing, hunting, and gathering fruits, roots, and herbs. And they were very reluctant to share their meager catch with the newcomers. Since the Spanish soldiers had been accustomed either to purchasing or taking foodstuffs from

noble s^{or}. Con la p^{re}sea que tiene en mi par-
 tida no os escriui desde el p^{re}to del Espid^{ro}. Ya agora en esta nase, ofe-
 ce mas de haerlos saber como lleque a este p^{re}to. Y baya de sancta cruz, di a
 de sancta cruz de mayo. por cuyo Respeto. se le puso este nombre. Recono-
 la t^{ra} primer de mayo dia de los dos apostoles. y por ende la parte q^a. Recono-
 cimos era en las mas altas siberias. sexta t^{ra}. se le puso nombre siberias de san-
 philipe. En este mes de dia. descubrimos una isla. Desta eerea de esta t^{ra} q^a.
 sellamo isla de santiago. Y luego vimos otras dos. que la una se nombra
 isla de sancto miguel. Y la otra de sancto xpoal. Y aidi en el viaje. xij.
 dias. acaba de las muchas calmas y t^{po}s contrarios que tuue. Y falta-
 ron me de toda la compania seis cauallos. entules quales fue el vno el
 bouerico que no lo tuue por poca perdida. todos los demas cauallos. y
 toda la gente llegaron muy buenos. bendito mo^s. no los es. sup de
 la manota y disposicion desta t^{ra}. por q^a nos salido.
 de despachar stos nauios. por la q^a y caual
 emos visto mucha gente. y algunos. en boma
 mucha cantidad de perlas y perlas de ella
 hallado. y repartiendose estos nauios. Entrate la t^{ra}
 buelta q^a bueluan auramas noticia del secreto della. y mas lugar pape-
 deros hazer Relacion de lo q^a vimos visto. no escriui al s^{or} gouer^{or}.
 hasta que aya cosa cierta que le podamos escriptura. mas de que me
 encomienda. en su m^o. y al protector tambien s^{or}. dades mis enco-
 mendas. Y q^a yotome cuydado dele escriptura siempre. Y agora no lo haq^a
 por lo q^a tengo dho. y escartas. os encomiendo s^{or}. hagais embiar con por-
 sona. cierta q^a fuere a me^o. all^o al t^{ra} m^o m^o m^o. lemas breui qui-
 ser pudiere. q^a. mo^s. v^{ra} noble persona como s^{or}. De feays. Desta
 p^{re}to. Y baya de sta cruz. x^{mo}. De mayo. De. DXXXV.

Al s^{or} gouer^{or} de new spain

The first letter from California was written by Cortés to Cristóbal de Oñate,
 from the island of "Santa Cruz" or Baja California, on May 14, 1535.

Indians, a food shortage soon developed when the supply vessels were delayed.

Cortés twice sent his ships from La Paz Bay back to Chiametla for the re-
 maining personnel and supplies. The second time a storm separated the vessels;
 the smallest one made it to California, but the second ship was caught in shoals
 near the mouth of the Guayabal River (seventeen leagues south of Culiacán),
 and the third ship went aground near the port of Jalisco, whereupon the crew and
 passengers returned to central Mexico. Meanwhile, Cortés used his one remaining
 ship to search for the others, taking along about seventy men including smiths and
 shipwrights. He found the ship near the Guayabal River, and after some repairs
 to both vessels and the acquisition of additional supplies from Culiacán he re-
 turned to California in the larger ship, leaving Hernando de Grijalva in command
 of the smaller one. On the return crossing, when the pilot was accidentally killed
 by a falling yardarm, Cortés himself acted as pilot. Meanwhile, in California the
 supplies were desperately needed because the Spaniards were starving and so

weakened that they could not fish or hunt. By the time of Cortés arrival, five men had died, and soon others succumbed from overeating.³⁹

Because of the precarious state of the colony, especially when Grijalva's ship failed to appear, Cortés decided to return to the mainland where he would search for the lost ships and organize a new armada with reinforcements. Another reason for his return was that the first Spanish viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, had arrived in Mexico City in mid-November of 1535, news that Cortés heard at Culiacán.⁴⁰ With a change in government, he was naturally anxious about his status and properties. At this juncture the marquis received a letter from his wife asking him to come back to Cuernavaca; this appeal apparently arrived with a caravel that came in search of him. So in the first part of 1536, Cortés, with most of his soldiers and colonists, departed from California, leaving Francisco de Ulloa in command of the colony "with thirty Spaniards, twelve horses, and supplies for ten months, including maize, sheep, bacon, pigs, chickens, and other necessities."⁴¹

From California the marquis proceeded toward Acapulco. Near the port of Matanchel (also called port of Jalisco, in Nayarit), Cortés rejoined Grijalva, whose ship was temporarily aground, and near there he also encountered two more vessels bringing men and supplies. The four ships then set sail for Santiago de Buena Esperanza (Manzanillo Bay), Colima, where they were joined by two additional ships that had been sent in search of Cortés. All six sails moved on to Acapulco, and from there Cortés went overland to Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Later in 1536 Ulloa and the first California colonists abandoned their settlement on La Paz Bay and returned to Acapulco. In a letter to the king, Cortés explained that "because some of the relatives of those left in that land complained, our viceroy of this New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, ordered me to send for the people and bring them back, which I did."⁴²

Thus ended the first attempt of Europeans to explore and colonize California. Other voyages of discovery followed Cortés', as did attempts to fish for pearls, but permanent settlement by Spaniards in Baja California was delayed for more than a century and a half. In many ways, Cortés' venture was a failure. He spent thousands of ducats on ships and supplies, yet no great cities or architectural monuments were found; few pearls were obtained. There was no gold or silver nor any native commodities such as cacao or indigo ready to exploit; the Spaniards were unable to maintain a permanent settlement; and California Indians were not baptized or converted to Christianity. Positive results of Cortés' expedition to California are to be found in the realm of expanded geographical knowledge. In addition, many California "firsts" can be credited to his activities there: the initial attempt at colonization, the bringing of missionaries, the introduction of European livestock and poultry, the first letter and legal documents, and the earliest map showing any part of California. Clearly, the written history of California began with Hernán Cortés.

THE WATER COLOR on page 4 is through courtesy of the Germanisches National Museum, Nürnberg. The map on page 10 is reproduced from Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*, facing page 296 (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1929). The original of the letter on page 13 is in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, Spain.

NOTES

1. Hernán Cortés to Charles V, May 15, 1522, printed in Pascual de Gayangos y Arce, *Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortés al Emperador Carlos V*, 159–160 (Paris, 1866).
2. Donald Brand, "The Development of Pacific Coast Ports During the Spanish Colonial Period in Mexico," *Estudios antropológicos publicados en homenaje al doctor Manuel Gamio*, 586, 588 (Mexico, 1956).
3. Charles V to Cortés, June 26, 1523, in Joaquín Pacheco and Francisco Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*, XXIII: 366 (37 vols., Madrid, 1864–1884) (cited hereafter as P&C).
4. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works*, Vol. XV: *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, Vol. I, 1531–1800, 22–24 (San Francisco, 1884).
5. Cortés to Charles V, Oct. 15, 1524, Gayangos, *Cartas*, 288–289.
6. Contract of Oct. 27, 1529, confirmed by royal *cédula* of Nov. 5, 1529, printed in P&C, XII: 490–495.
7. Guzmán's island discoveries in P&C, XV: 319–322.
8. Acapulco ships purchased from Juan Rodríguez de Villafuerte on Nov. 4, 1531, Hernán Cortés, *Escritos sueltos; colección formada para servir de complemento a las "Cartas de Relación"*, 291 (Mexico, 1871).
9. Royal order in Vasco de Puga (comp.), *Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones de Su Majestad*, 41–42 (Mexico, 1563).
10. Hurtado's instructions in Cortés, *Escritos*, 196–205; fate of *San Marcos* crew in report of Diego de Guzmán, P&C, XV: 336; fate of *San Miguel* and crew in testimony of Nuño de Guzmán, July 26, 1532, P&C, XII: 443–446.
11. Bancroft, *Works*, XV: 45–46.
12. Testimony of mutiny survivors at an inquiry held in Dec., 1533, in Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain), *Patronato* 180, *Ramo* 52 (microfilm, The Bancroft Library, University of California). Ximénez' first name is sometimes given as Ortuño.
13. Nuño de Guzmán's version of the Ximénez expedition is in a document he presented in Madrid in 1540, P&C, XV: 346–347.
14. Bancroft, *Works*, XV: 48.
15. Cortés to Council of Indies, Feb. 8, 1535, in Gayangos, *Cartas*, 532.
16. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. Genaro García, II:415 (2 vols., Mexico, 1905). Number of horses in Gayangos, *Cartas*, 533.
17. Cortés to Council of Indies, Feb. 8, 1535, in Gayangos, *Cartas*, 534. In Colima on Jan. 9, 1535, Cortés set up an entail for his heirs, Mariano Cuevas, S.J., *Cartas y otros documentos de Hernán Cortés novisimamente descubiertos en el Archivo de Indias de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, 151–170 (Seville, 1915). Salvador de Madariaga's biography, *Hernán Cortés, Conqueror of Mexico*, 464 (Miami, 1967), mistakenly says the marquis was in Tehuantepec in January, 1535.
18. Nuño de Guzmán's order to Cortés, Feb. 20, 1535, in P&C, XII: 448–450.
19. Cortés' reply to Guzmán, Feb. 25, 1535, in P&C: XII, 452–453.
20. Nuño de Guzmán to *Audiencia* of New Spain, Mar. 9, 1535; same to Council of Indies, June 7, 1535; same to Charles V, June 8, 1535, in P&C, XIII: 414–417, 443–449.
21. Nuño de Guzmán to Council of Indies, Mar. 20, 1540, in P&C, XV: 346.
22. Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de Mexico*, II: 196 (2 vols., Mexico, 1943).
23. Until 1960, when the celebration was suppressed by the Roman Catholic Church, May 3 was the feast day of the Holy Cross (Santa Cruz), commemorating the fourth-century finding of the cross of Jesus, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV: 482 (15 vols., New York, 1967).
24. May 1 is the feast day of the Apostles Philip and James (Felipe and Santiago).
25. In a letter dated June 5, 1536, Cortés identified the protector, whom he met in Compostela, and recommended him to the Council of the Indies, Cortés, *Escritos*, 267.
26. Juan Altimirano was left in charge of Cortés' affairs and estate when the marquis left for the Northwest.
27. Original signed copy of the letter in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), *Patronato* 16, No. 1, *Ramo* 15, permission to reproduce it obtained from the *Directora*, Srta. Rosario Parra Cala

28. Cf. Gómara's *Historia General de las Indias*, 282 (Antwerp, 1554), and *Historia de las conquistas de Hernando Cortés*, II:196 (2 vols., Mexico, 1826). The first edition was published in Saragossa, Spain, in 1552.
29. For examples see Francisco Antonio Lorenzana y Butrón (ed.), *Historia de la Nueva-España escrito por su esclaredido conquistador Hernan Cortes*, 324 (Mexico, 1770); Francis A. MacNutt, *Fernando Cortes and the Conquest of Mexico*, 428 (New York, 1909); Michael R. Martin and Gabriel H. Lovelitt (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Latin American History*, 106 (Indianapolis, 1968).
30. Leslie Byrd Simpson, translator and editor, *Cortés . . .*, 399 (Berkeley, 1964).
31. Díaz, *Historia*, II: 416. Although written between 1553 and 1568, Díaz' book was first published in 1632.
32. Henry Raup Wagner, "Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts," *The Pacific Historical Review*, VII: 301 (December, 1938).
33. Lewis Hanke, "The *Requerimiento* and its Interpreters," *Revista de Historia de América*, I: 25-34 (1938).
34. Full text of *Acta de posesión de Santa Cruz* printed in P&C, XV: 306-308.
35. Francisco A. de Icaza, *Diccionario autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España* (2 vols., Madrid, 1923, and Guadalajara, Mexico, 1969).
36. Notarized account of May 10 ceremony in Camilo García de Palavicja y del Castillo, *Hernán Cortés; copias de documentos existentes en el Archivo de Indias y en el palacio de Castilleja de la Cuesta sobre la conquista de Méjico*, 388 (Seville, 1889).
37. The map, often referred to as Cortés' map of California, is reproduced in Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), opposite p. 296.
38. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages*, 7.
39. Accounts of the supply trips vary; the foregoing is a synthesis of details in Cortés, 292, and Gómara, *Historia*, II: 197-199. Díaz, *Historia*, II: 416-417, says that twenty-three men died of hunger and half the remaining of overeating.
40. Gómara, *Historia*, II: 199. Mendoza arrived in the capital on November 14, 1535. J. Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *Introducción al estudio de los virreyes de Nueva España, 1535-1746*, I: 22 (4 vols., Mexico, 1955-1963.)
41. Cortés, *Cartas*, 293.
42. Cortés, *Cartas*, 293.

Forgotten Financier: François L. A. Pioche

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San Francisco businessman and author

IT WAS MAY 2, 1872. François Pioche, San Francisco banker and financier, was lying in bed in his luxurious three-story home at 806 Stockton Street reading the newspaper. At 7:05 A.M. Pioche's valet, Louis Reiff, entered the bedroom and asked his master, according to the morning custom of the house: "Do you care for some water to drink, sir?"

"I do not wish to talk to you," replied the usually affable and benevolent Pioche.

Ten minutes later he got up out of bed, went to a mahogany case on a table in the center of the room, took from it one of a pair of heavy Navy pistols, returned to his bed, placed the cold ring of the muzzle against his forehead, and fired.

Why should a man who was one of the West's most successful financiers, a bachelor who had an exuberant zest for life, a French-born *bon vivant* eminently respected in the cosmopolitan San Francisco community since his arrival in 1849 suddenly end his life in his fifty-fourth year? There were many theories advanced at the inquest following his death: his depression over France's humiliation at its quick loss of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, severe headaches as a result of an injury received from a fall from a horse, his guilt over his role in the vigilante hangings of the 1850's, business problems known only to himself and a few associates. Whatever the reason or reasons, they probably lie buried with the amazing personality.

If Pioche could wander the streets of San Francisco today—over one hundred years after his death—he would no doubt find much that would amaze him and a great deal that would sadden him. Presumably, he would find it curious that no historian has ever seen fit to write a biographical account of his life, whether book or article, that a short, unpaved street near Bernal Heights is his only monument—that, and a plaque on the site of his first banking house, on Clay Street between Montgomery and Kearny streets. If he went to the corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets, where in the early 1850's he built a sumptuous banking house—a building which survived the 1906 fire and earthquake—he would see a garish, new brick building which several years ago replaced Pioche's building, a new San

Francisco landmark called the Playboy Club. Maybe he would have appreciated this. A large piece of property which he owned, and on which he once had his home—at Mission between Sixth and Seventh streets, known for many years as the Sullivan Block—is now tied up in the litigation affecting the Yerba Buena Redevelopment Project. Pioche would not have understood this.

But why should this obscure financier find himself slighted by historians of his adopted city? What right had he to expect that they would write books and articles about him when they could mine such fields as the Emperor Norton, Lola Montez, Mammy Pleasant, and Lillie Hitchcock Coit. Why should a principal thoroughfare be named after him when there were Spanish pioneers, U.S. presidents, and city officials to be commemorated? Why indeed!

François Louis Alfred Pioche was born in France in 1818 of a middle-class family. He studied law and received an appointment in the Ministry of Finance. When he was twenty-three a wealthy uncle died leaving him a large legacy. It was soon gone, however, in stock speculations and extravagant living.

Deciding to try life anew in the New World, Pioche left for Santiago, Chile, where he was employed in the French consular office in that city. He subsequently left the consulate for employment in a French-owned mercantile firm, where he met J. B. Bayerque, who was to be his banking partner in San Francisco.

At the time of the discovery of gold in California, Pioche and Bayerque left Chile for San Francisco with a cargo of merchandise, arriving in the city in February, 1849. They opened a general merchandise store on Clay Street, specializing in French-imported goods, prospered, and slowly turned to banking in the tradition of those days: storing gold for miners in their safe and using their excess capital to lend to businessmen.

Pioche's Gallic enthusiasm and emerging financial skills made his enthusiasm for the potential of the West boundless. The seemingly endless supply of gold made men casual about spending money. The price of goods and rents was higher in San Francisco than in the present day. In 1851 Pioche went to France to seek more funds to invest in the Golden West. He became one of the most sought-after figures in Parisian financial circles. Bankers and prostitutes alike pressed Pioche with money to invest in the new Eldorado. Seeking to popularize San Francisco, Pioche commissioned the famous engraver Charles Meryon to engrave from a series of daguerrotypes a view of the city, showing a prosperous metropolis. This engraving, today a rare bit of Californiana, was a throw-away designed to show San Francisco as a substantial city to the thrifty French.

The funds went to work immediately, through the banking firm of Pioche & Bayerque, in San Francisco real estate—natural for Frenchmen. The rental returns of 6–10 per cent per month in the early 1850's allowed Pioche to pay dividends of some 20–25 per cent per year to his French investors. He bought property and developed Montgomery Street from Sutter Street to Market Street and almost the entire block bounded by Montgomery, Washington, Sansome, and Jackson streets.

But it was not only in downtown commercial property that Pioche invested his funds. He also bought large undeveloped tracts of land in what is today known as the Mission District. And when it appeared that the city's population was not moving rapidly enough into "the Mission" and buying lots in that early land

*Pioche, the highly successful
banker and financier, posed for this
Bradley and Rulofson portrait
shortly before his death by his own
hand in 1872.*



development operation, Pioche built the Market Street Railway—one of San Francisco's earliest transit systems—to bring them there. The profits on both the land and the transportation system were enormous.

And Pioche purchased more real estate. Virtually every county in the state of California has records of the large ranches which Pioche bought during the 1850's and 1860's. This period, which saw the break-up of the massive Spanish-Mexican land grants, also saw Pioche become one of the principal buyers of this land.

Pioche returned to France in 1853 and spent a great deal of time there during the 1850's, continuing to funnel investment funds to his banking firm in San Francisco. (Until the 1930's most banking firms in the United States combined the functions of today's commercial and investment banking companies.) The operations of Pioche & Bayerque were handled by Pioche's partner J. B. Bayerque, J. Mora Moss, and A. Caselli.

It was not only in real estate, however, that Pioche employed his and his investors' funds. He financed the Jackson Street Wharf Company—one of the several private wharves which stretched into the bay. In fact, in 1860, Pioche & Bayerque was in the forefront of a group of San Francisco capitalists who sought to obtain the shore area of San Francisco for private use. Pursuing this objective, they succeeded in having the Bulkhead Bill passed by both houses of the state legislature. Their scheme was foiled when Governor Downey vetoed the bill.

So-called public utilities were unknown in the nineteenth century. All were privately-financed, privately-owned, and unregulated. Pioche was a major financier of both the San Francisco Gas Works, the principal component of what is today the Pacific Gas & Electric Company, and the Spring Valley Water Company, which many years later the City and County of San Francisco purchased for its municipally-owned water system.

From the time of the gold rush well into the late 1870's, mining was one of the principal sources of California's wealth. Pioche was not remiss in his financial

endeavors in this area. After the Comstock discovery in 1859, Nevada became a new Golconda. Pioche's money helped to develop the Ely mining district, and the county seat of Lincoln County in eastern Nevada is named after him. Pioche also was involved in the financing of the Temescal tin mines in Southern California, the Malakoff diggings at North Bloomfield, Nevada, the Rivot process for treating refractory ores and sulphurets, the Nolf process for the same purpose, and various hydraulic mining enterprises in California.

As if these imaginative financing activities were not sufficient, Pioche and his firm were also the pioneers in western railroad construction. In mid-1852 a group of Sacramento businessmen incorporated the Sacramento Valley Railroad. It was not until 1855 that construction began, and in the meantime Pioche & Bayerque became the financiers and the controlling interest in this first railroad in the West. In addition to Pioche and Bayerque the project, which was to be constructed between Folsom and Placerville, involved some of San Francisco's leading financiers: Commodore C. K. Garrison, shipping magnate and early San Francisco mayor; Captain Joseph L. Folsom; William T. Sherman, in the 1850's a San Francisco banker, later achieving fame as a Civil War general; and Ralph S. Fretz, partner of the fabled banker William C. Ralston.

The founders of the railroad had gone to New York in early 1854 and hired a brilliant young railroad engineer by the name of Theodore D. Judah, who came to California and built the Sacramento Valley Railroad. His vision and determined crusade in behalf of a transcontinental railroad later brought about the organization of the Central Pacific Railroad by four Sacramento businessmen: Crocker, Stanford, Huntington, and Hopkins. And it was Judah who, before his untimely death, laid out the route for this first transcontinental railroad.

Like most pioneering business ventures, the Sacramento Valley Railroad underwent numerous vicissitudes of fortune. Pioche's firm not only financed the company but, along with Lester L. Robinson, managed it. However, despite its being the first railroad, the Sacramento Valley Railroad was not to bring financial rewards to its backers. The Big Four pursued the vision of a transcontinental railroad vigorously, and, in the mid-1860's, Pioche was forced to sell the Sacramento Valley Railroad to the Central Pacific Railroad at a substantial loss.

For all his ventures helping to finance the growth of the West during the 1850's and 1860's, Pioche also retained his interests in the field of general merchandise. He remained the California agent-distributor for the famous French Sozerac brandy. At one of his summer homes and property—the New Almaden Mine near San Jose—he discovered a mineral spring. He had the water from this spring tested for its medicinal qualities and compared to the waters from various European spas. Satisfied with the excellent properties of the mineral springs, he began to bottle and sell the water.

As well, San Franciscans owe to Pioche the excellent quality of the cuisine in the city. Dissatisfied with the deplorable food in San Francisco during the gold rush period, Pioche imported chefs from France, and soon the city had numerous restaurants with excellent reputations for their French cooking. One of the earliest of these—and one which apparently had Pioche's financial backing—was the *Le Poulet d'Or*, corrupted by the un-cosmopolitan miners into the present name of the restaurant: The Poodle Dog.



Whatever the meaning of this caricature by Edouard Chevasus, Pioche's interest in the world of the arts is obvious.

Pioche and Bayerque's advertisement from the 1860 City Directory indicates the extent of their commercial and investment connections on the East Coast and in Europe.

514 SAN FRANCISCO DIRECTORY.

PIOCHE & BAYERQUE,
AGENTS
 —AND—
BANKERS
 Montgomery Street, corner Jackson.

DRAW ON
SCHUCHARDT & GEBHARD,
 NEW YORK.

DRAFTS ON
L. C. OPPERMANN,
 PARIS.

PAYABLE IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF
FRANCE, ITALY,
ENGLAND, PRUSSIA,
BELGIUM, HOLLAND,
SWITZERLAND, SPAIN,
GERMANY, ETC.

They also RECEIVE, ON DEPOSIT, THE SMALLEST SUMS, and for a moderate commission, remit them and cause them to be paid—at fixed periods, Monthly, Quarterly or otherwise, to the Families of Depositors in the

PRINCIPAL CITIES OF EUROPE.

During his twenty-three years in San Francisco, Pioche, like his contemporary Ralston, never ceased to labor to enhance his adopted city. He backed industrial fairs in San Francisco, generously contributed to charitable and philanthropic causes, strongly promoted the cultural and educational institutions of the city, and, as we have seen, never missed an opportunity to finance projects which abetted the economic developments of the West.

His will very much illustrates his benefactions while alive. To the fledgling University of California he bequeathed his extensive art, book, and mineralogical collections and \$5,000. To French Hospital he left two acres of land and \$5,000. To the sculptor Pietro Mezzara he left \$10,000 and various objects d'art.

Pioche's personal life was quite atypical of a modern businessman. A life-long bachelor, Pioche had all the qualities one would expect of a cultivated and cultured Frenchman. He loved the good life and had the money to enjoy it. An ardent collector, he assembled numerous works of art, furniture and decorative pieces, books, and minerals and shells. His taste for good food, wines, and spirits was something he loved to share with friends and visitors to San Francisco in his lavish entertaining.

Pioche had five homes during his residency in San Francisco. Three of these were located in the city and two were country homes. One of these homes—the Hermitage—was located on what is now Dolores Street, across from and south of Mission Dolores. Another was on the site of what has come to be called the



Sullivan Block, on Mission between Sixth and Seventh streets. Here, during the rainy winter of 1842, Pioche's gardens and house were flooded when the waters of Sans Souci Lake (at what is now Divisadero and Fulton) flooded and rushed down to submerge the area around the Pioche estate. The third home—where he died—was at 806 Stockton Street. This mansard-roofed house, along with its grounds, covered half the block. Big bay windows fronted on Stockton Street, and, looking north towards the bay, ran a balcony where, after dinner, Pioche liked to sit, sip his brandy, smoke his rich Havana cigars, and admire the view.

Pioche's summer homes were located in San Mateo and near San Jose. The San Mateo estate was located on property between the El Camino Real and the Alameda de las Pulgas. After his death the property and house was purchased by San Francisco banker Antoine Borel, and his descendents continue to own it. Further south, Pioche owned property at the New Almaden Quicksilver Mine; he used the old house built for the managers of the mine as his residence.

For all of his panoply of wealth and financial successes, it appears that in the late 1860's or early 1870's Pioche and his firm found themselves financially over-extended. Details for this contraction of business are not available. However, from both the accounts of the inquest held at the time of Pioche's death and from law suits launched by the executors of his estate, it is obvious that Pioche had become financially straitened. Whether for "fresh blood" or for additional capital, Pioche had taken in as a partner and, seemingly, effective head of the firm, L. L. Robinson, who had built and controlled the Sacramento Valley Railroad in conjunction with Pioche & Bayerque.

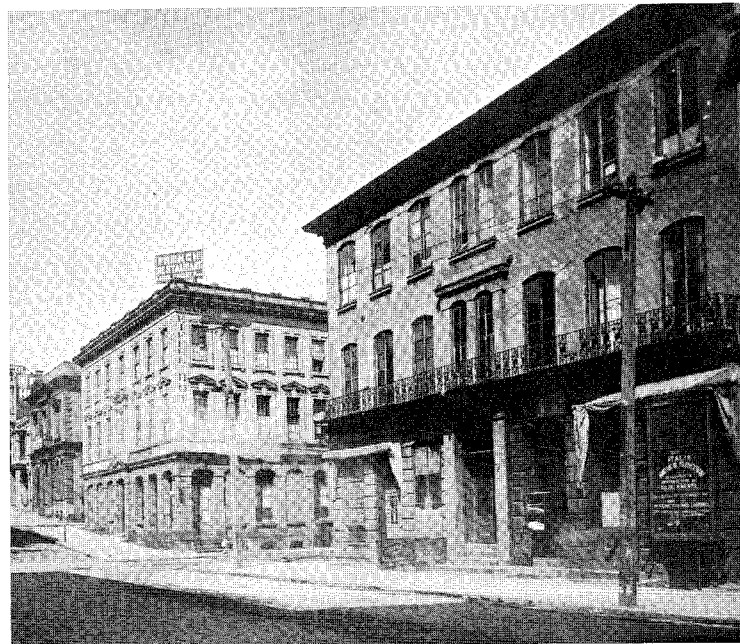
After Pioche's death, the executors of his estate sued Robinson for fraudulently misappropriating to his personal use assets belonging to Pioche and to the firm of Pioche & Bayerque. From the testimony given at the trial, it appears that Robinson proved to be as much an evil genius to Pioche as Sharon was to be to Ralston in 1875.

The comparisons in the lives of these two giant San Francisco financiers are uncanny. Both were unusual for their times. Unlike the usual grasping robber-baron businessmen of the last half of the nineteenth century, both Pioche and Ralston were men of taste and culture. Both were passionately devoted to San



This 1850's panorama at Montgomery Street between Washington and Jackson depicts the Pioche & Bayerque headquarters (far left) and one of the many downtown commercial blocks developed by Pioche.

In this 1906 view, Pioche's lavish bank building still guarded the corner of Montgomery and Jackson streets. It withstood the earthquake which followed and was only recently torn down to make room for the Playboy Club.



Francisco and to the growth of the West, spending millions of dollars of their capital to finance this growth, frequently in money-losing ventures, and to promote the city's cultural and educational life. Neither of them ever tired of promoting San Francisco. No financier of that time, nor since, had the wide-ranging, innovative minds in financing so many aspects of Western growth as did these two men. As compared to the flinty-hearted boors who made up the financial communities of most cities of the United States at that time, both Pioche and Ralson were genial, kind, and charitable. Even in their enjoyment of the luxury and splendor which their wealth and their position brought them, they did it with taste and modesty.

And yet both of these men died as comparative failures. In 1875, the Bank of California failed, shortly thereafter Ralston died of a stroke while swimming in

San Francisco Bay. His supposed friend and protégé, William Sharon, appropriated virtually all of his sizeable estate and denuded Ralston's heirs of their inheritance. Three years before, Pioche had committed suicide, and in 1876 his firm was liquidated. Today, Ralston's life is better remembered than Pioche's because of three biographies, the fact that the Bank of California remains as his financial legacy, and the existence of most of his papers and letters. Unfortunately, no historian has so recorded the life of Pioche, no financial institution he founded remains, and virtually no letter of Pioche or of his firm is extant.

And so in 1973, over one hundred years after his death, Pioche remains a forgotten financier. And yet, during the twenty-three years between his arrival in San Francisco and his death, he was one of the principal architects of the prosperity of San Francisco and the West and one of the main shapers of its quality of life. His ability to garner friends from abroad and profitably and creatively invest their funds in the West greatly helped to develop the area's rich resources. The West's commerce was aided by his financing of wharves and warehouses, its financial growth enhanced by his prestigious banking house, its utilities started by his financial activities on behalf of the San Francisco Gas Works and the Spring Valley Water Company. Its railroad had their start with him. The mining industry received the benefits of his imagination and money. And the real estate, agricultural, and livestock resources of California were greatly developed by his vision.

The fact that San Francisco is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world is, in part, attributable to Pioche. His Frenchman's love for fine food, good wines and spirits, and the arts prompted him to finance French restaurants and to import French wines and liquors, to give generously to support music and art in San Francisco, and to develop the San Francisco style of entertainment.

Pioche deserves much more from San Francisco and the West than the oblivion to which he has been consigned. He should be remembered particularly for his unceasing efforts to develop the economy and the cosmopolitan excellence of the city, and he should be a model for contemporary Western businessmen and financiers for his bold, creative, and imaginative financing of new industries. Perhaps more than a century after the death of François Louis Alfred Pioche his adopted city will see fit to restore to him the fame which is rightfully his as a major builder of San Francisco.

THE PHOTOS on pages 22-3 (top) and page 21 (right) are from the Wells Fargo History Room. The others are from the California Historical Society collection.

California's Response to the "New Education" in the 1930's

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EDUCATION, IT SEEMS, HAS NOT KEPT PACE with the social changes that are going on." This observation, a now-familiar analysis made by Boyd Bode in *Progressive Education at the Crossroads* over thirty-five years ago,¹ was as timely then as it is today. The aspirations of educators of Bode's generation for a curriculum relevant to the concerns of life, for student participation in curriculum development, for reduced academic pressure and eliminated academic failure, and even for a restructured social order—the most ambitious aspiration of them all—are again being advanced. That many contemporary advocates of fundamental reforms appear ignorant of these earlier attempts is frustrating to historians, but probably of little consequence. The ability of later generations to capitalize on the cumulative successes and failures of earlier generations is not a strong one in any area of human experience.

The noble goal of earlier reforms for an engaging educational experience remains unrealized; in the 1960's many students, lacking interest in scholastic success, still dropped out of school.² One could debate the causes of this failure, asserting that the reformers erred in their chosen reforms, that their successors operated ineffectively, or that forces beyond the control of education prevailed. Regardless of the causes of failure, however, by the late 1960's a new cast of characters embraced the reformist zeal of the twenties and thirties. Relevance in the curriculum and reform by institutions again became the cry.

For all the rhetorical similarities, these contemporary criticisms differ from those of the earlier generation. Such men as George Counts, who in the thirties had issued an ambitious challenge for schoolmen to use their schools in building a new social order, saw the educational institutions as basically sound and capable of an effective response to new conditions.³ Many current critics appear not only disenchanted with educational philosophies and programs; they lack confidence in the institutional structure itself. Hence, they call for private and street schools as alternatives to the entire system of public schooling.

In the thirties members of the educational establishment were able, in good conscience, to join the trend to educational reform, agreeing with and, in some

cases, even leading the call for basic changes in the system. They could blame the "traditionalists" for all the shortcomings. In the sixties, the antagonist became the institutional itself and those in authority within it. Aside from greatly changed historical conditions, perhaps this is the key difference between the two reform movements: the earlier movement received a considerable proportion of its direction from school people, including professors of education, while the later move was being forced from without by community people, government, business, and academic critics. It is ironical that the failures cited by recent critics were in many cases the same conditions the earlier reformers thought they were correcting.⁴

Perhaps nowhere in the nation was support for "progressive education," to use the term most often chosen to describe the multifaceted educational reform movement of the 1920's and 1930's, more accepted among public school people than in California. There, as elsewhere, schools had been forced to cut back on everything from teachers' salaries and kindergarten to counseling programs and high school newspapers during the Depression of the early thirties. Fears of imposed tuition fees at all levels above elementary school, and of still more stringent economies, stimulated resistance and strengthened the commitment to reform. For a relatively brief time during 1932 and 1933 the financial pinch overshadowed almost everything else. It also stimulated educators into raising the wonder-working claims of their product. In countless other times and places public education had been identified as a necessary condition for sound public welfare. So it was again.

In some respects, then, the Depression proved to be something of a boon for progressive education. If the schools were in any way responsible for the speculative and overly materialistic conditions preceding the stock market crash of October, 1929, or the inability of political leaders to solve the problems which followed, the blame could be placed with the "old education," not with the school as an institution, and certainly not with progressive practices.

As an educational theory, progressivism covered an exasperating range of emphases, some unrelated and even contradictory, e.g., child study, educational testing, expansion and reorganization of curriculum, scientific study of learning, increased attention to counseling, social reconstruction, and, by the 1940's, life-adjustment education. Progressivism was a meeting place for the philosophies of pragmatism and romantic naturalism as well as the tenets of Gestalt psychology. A case could be made for naming Francis W. Parker the father of the movement, but John Dewey became its patron saint, and, to most of the faithful, its father as well. Indeed, the movement became practically all things to all people. In its period of ascendancy, roughly 1915-1940, it represented a modernist, forward-looking, *i.e.*, progressive spirit, opposed to dominant former ways. Breadth served to attract a wide cross section of followers. Unfortunately, it also made the movement vulnerable on many fronts. Before the end of the 1950's, the "child-centered," "social reconstruction," and "life adjustment" fronts had attracted enough fire effectively to bury the name of progressive education for at least a decade.

Specific emphases notwithstanding, to the leading California schoolmen of the thirties, progressivism was good and a cause to be identified with. If Teachers

College, Columbia University, was the philosophical and inspirational center of the movement, it may be asserted with equal confidence that on a statewide basis California was the implementation center. Helen Heffernan, chief of the California State Department of Education's Bureau of Elementary Education from 1925 to 1965, was an energetic Dewey disciple. Probably more than anyone else, she was responsible for delivering the progressive message to every city and hamlet in the state. "The philosophy of John Dewey," Heffernan maintained, "is basic in the thought and practice of most advanced schools today."⁵

In Dewey's essay, "The Future of Liberalism," perhaps better known to political scientists than to educators, he remarked that "experimental method is not just messing around nor doing a little of this and a little of that in the hope that things will improve."⁶ The context of this statement was social liberalism, not education, but the sentiment quite accurately reflected his feelings toward experimentation in education as well. It is unlikely, however, that most teachers in decades past possessed either the inclination or the background to engage in actual experimentation, or that they enjoyed the time and patience to read Dewey's pronouncements carefully. On the other hand, many teachers and administrators were willing to "mess around."

Generally speaking, the California pedagogical progressives succeeded rather well in echoing the national sentiment, be the emphasis of the moment on child development, social reconstruction, democracy in the school, or any of the other verities. Of these several emphases, the "child-centered" movement appeared more a product of the twenties and before. Still, enthusiasm for child study remained during the thirties, and serious scientific study of the child went forward as never before. National interest in adolescence, substantial following publication of G. Stanley Hall's *Adolescence* in 1904, was still alive, as witnessed by the holding of a White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in 1932. The very nature of scientific child study was not conducive to fadism, whatever the popular cause of the moment. This, of course, was particularly true of studies that compared data observed from the same subjects over time.

Of the nation's half dozen or so leading study centers, one, the Institute of Child Welfare, was located at the University of California, Berkeley.⁷ Perhaps the study emanating from that center having the most direct impact on the public schools was the Oakland Growth Study. The extensive data collected for the study at Claremont Junior High in Oakland influenced the educational program of that school substantially.⁸ As well, some of the institute's findings were translated into curriculum revision activities in other California schools. Long Beach, for example, utilized some of the "real problem data" in putting together its "family adjustment" course in 1932.⁹ Oakland Growth Study data also constituted the primary source material used by Lois Meek and her Progressive Education Association (PEA) committee on workshops for their book, *The Personal-Social Development of Boys and Girls with Implications for Secondary Education*, published in 1940.¹⁰ Admittedly, this was not one of the more memorable works published by the PEA, and it came at a time when revelations concerning child development had already been made available through other sources.

On the state level, the curriculum commission undertook publication of materials intended to increase teachers' awareness of differences existing among

children with respect to physical development, levels of academic and motor ability, social development, and range and types of interest. Most notable of these was a *Teacher's Guide to Child Development* (1932) and a *Teachers Guide to Child Development in the Intermediate Grades* (1936).

For schools of moderate to large size, the institutional response was an expansion of the curriculum, introduction of a broad range of club and other extracurricular activities, expansion of guidance programs, introduction of anecdotal records into the school, and homogeneous grouping practices. By 1937, about three-fourths of the state's junior highs were practicing ability grouping.¹¹ Occasionally, in those places where a concern for child study implied a child-centered school, such as the previously mentioned Claremont Junior High, grouping was based on social maturity rather than on ability in the hope that greater understanding of junior high students would result.¹² On the elementary level, a move toward a less threatening grading system, often involving "satisfactory—needs to improve" marking in place of the traditional A–F system and increased attention to parent conferences, was widely accepted.

Probably the most controversial side of progressive education during the 1930's was its link with social reconstructionist thought. For a time this link gave part of the movement direction, albeit many progressives, especially those with a strong bent toward psychology, were little affected by it all. Leading supporters of public education since the days of Horace Mann had been impressed with their capacity to transform society through education. During the Depression years California school administrators were prepared to emphasize this potential to the hilt. As observed by the state superintendent, "Education is the one nation-wide foundation for enduring recovery."¹³

Certainly the educational rhetoric of the early thirties reflected more spirited social commentary than it had previously. Speaking at a conference of the California Society of Secondary Education on August 5, 1932, Professor Percy Davidson of Stanford endorsed the "Dare Progressive Education be Progressive" challenge made by George Counts at the Baltimore meeting of the PEA. In that epoch speech Counts urged teachers to seek power and strive to use it fully and wisely in the interest of the great masses of people. Davidson further acknowledged that Counts was right "in charging us with indifference and docility in times fraught with tragic possibilities."¹⁴ The public, he urged, would not criticize teachers for attempting to alert youth to the need for more intelligent planning on behalf of the common welfare. A year later the California Department of Education, through its organ *California Schools*, urged all teachers and administrators to read and discuss Count's equally profound *A Call to the Teachers of the Nation*.¹⁵

There is some indication that in rare instances Counts's challenge penetrated as far down as the local level. The city superintendent of Santa Ana, for instance, was willing to entertain serious questions concerning the American social and economic system in a way contemporary Californians would not expect from prominent citizens of Orange County:

Can we teach the abandonment of free competition and private profit? Is it too much to hope that we may expect the citizen to see the general as against the private good; that



Helen Heffernan, chief of the Bureau of Elementary Education from 1925 to 1965, carried the banner for progressive education to nearly every city, town and village school throughout the state.

he (and we) shall learn the ethics of success founded on justice and morality; that he (and we) shall learn to strive for social not personal welfare; that he (and we) take no unfair advantage of opportunities in the social order that are absolutely denied others; that we all shall be so concerned with social, economic, religious, and cultural relationships that we shall be no more obligated to our own particular school or creed or color than we are to every other man in human society?"¹⁶

It is important to emphasize that a willingness to consider substantive alterations in the nation's economic and social system was not an activity limited to radicals during the crisis years of the early thirties. Even relatively cautious school administrators were capable of being aroused by the call for social reconstruction. The case of California State Superintendent of Public Instruction Vierling Kersey may be taken as an illustration. Here was a man opposed to all the things Americans had been taught to oppose—dictatorships, facism, anarchy, and communism—a man who was a Mason, a member of the Optimist Club, director of the Los Angeles Woodcraft Ranger organization, a Republican, and even a holder of a membership in the Sons of the Revolution.¹⁷ In terms of background and propensity he was as far from being radical as is possible. Yet the call of the social reconstructionists held an appeal for him. For Kersey, and presumably other schoolmen of his day, "social reconstruction" was not equated with radicalism, but rather was seen as implying a need for economic recovery, increased attention to social welfare, and control of excessive private profit.

Even prior to the 1932 elections Kersey was calling for educational experiences miraculously intended to veer the nation away from selfishness and lack of social concern. By May, 1933, he stated that what the nation was observing was "not the end of our social order," but "the end of the weak and faulty in that social order." The greatest current challenge to social planning, he observed, was to reorganize the entire scheme of economic control so that the common man would not be "merely a producer of goods but a consumer as well." Thus, "excessive

profit must be prevented in order that the power to consume may be more widely distributed among all who participate in production.”¹⁸ Eight months later, after nine months of “the national program of recovery so splendidly inaugurated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt,” Kersey asserted that “we can accomplish by social reconstruction that recognition of social and economic equality for which many nations have found it necessary to undergo internal strife and revolution.”¹⁹

Perhaps the key difference between radicals and moderates was not so much what they said, but what it took to satisfy them. Kersey saw the social order as changing significantly for the better under the Roosevelt administration; most true radicals remained disappointed with New Deal policies. In spite of his passing assent with the social views of Counts, Kersey remained an educational and political moderate, speaking out against “an experimentalism based upon the false philosophy that ‘things can’t be worse’.”²⁰ As for a willingness to indoctrinate students in the ways of the new social order, perhaps the most controversial point of view offered by Counts, Kersey was vague. He was opposed to indoctrination imposed subtly or otherwise by commercial interests, but he approved of indoctrination for the preservation of specific principles, social customs, and existing institutions so long as it was accompanied by “critical personal analysis and evaluation” on the part of the student.²¹

As it turned out, social reconstruction was but a passing fancy in California education. As early as 1935 the legislature became concerned about the dangers of communism in the schools and considered a loyalty oath for public school teachers. Twelve years later they prohibited the use of state money for the purchase of any materials associated with the nationally renowned Building America Series. Since 1934, Building America had grown into the most notable curriculum series with a social reconstructionist orientation. In one of its less auspicious actions, and in spite of authoritative testimony to the contrary, the legislature became convinced that the series smacked of “subversive” or communistic influence.²²

Unlike social reconstructionist thought, the socially-oriented curriculum supported and publicized by the reconstructionists had considerably more sustaining power in state education. The state superintendent’s primary directive regarding teaching for 1935 was instruction in political citizenship based upon “recognition that human welfare is the highest value known to us.”²³ Whether stated directly, or merely implied, several California educators held that the Depression could have been prevented had only the schools emphasized early a critical approach to the teaching of social issues.

The impact of the Depression on elementary schooling was a comparatively modest one, major changes having occurred during the previous decade. But here, as on the secondary level, there appeared something of a trend toward making social studies the core of the curriculum. A significant breakthrough toward giving curriculum planners at the elementary level more freedom was achieved in 1925 when the legislature, influenced by the state-commissioned Bagley-Kyte study, reduced the number of legally required subjects from thirty-two to twelve and stipulated that local authorities could add no more than three additional requirements to meet local needs.²⁴ Beyond that, there was only the

requirement that a minimum of 50 per cent of each school week be devoted to reading, writing, language study, spelling, and arithmetic in grades one to six inclusive. With virtually complete freedom on organization, it was not difficult to comply with the legal requirements.

Free from undue restrictions, California's progressively oriented elementary educators continued to implement the Deweyian principles. "We are endeavoring," wrote the Los Angeles County schools' curriculum director, "to guide thoughtful teachers to a complete acceptance of the Dewey philosophy. . . . The large state program of progressive education is a great stimulus to all of us."²⁵ And indeed, a large state program there was, one that received generally good support from the State Board of Education and the several state superintendents between 1925 and the 1950's. State boards and superintendents came and went, but the Department of Education's Helen Heffernan remained to lead the state-directed program of progressive education. Virtually all of the newer trends received early acceptance in California, but the main focus was on centering activities of the primary school around the child's immediate environment and needs—social, psychological, and physical.

Delivery of the message required the state, counties, and local districts to participate in a zealous and usually well-organized program of publicity and in-service education. Geographic remoteness restricted, but did not deny, deliveries of the progressive gospel. By 1930, under the guiding hand of Helen Heffernan, a cooperative curriculum plan was initiated in seventeen northern California counties. Under this plan, teachers and administrators, with some help from outside consultants, developed curricula for use in the schools. In July, 1932, the three major products of their work, suggested courses of study in science, reading, and social studies, were published in the Department of Education *Bulletin*. Although the courses were suited to both city and rural schools, special attention was given to the organization and curriculum problems of smaller schools. Expectedly, "the danger of dividing work into subject matter fields was recognized," and an attempt was made to complete the integration of subject matter around large centers of interest.²⁶

In addition to state planning, some independent activity was taking place in the larger school districts. There, too, little doubt remained concerning what constituted good elementary schooling. The Los Angeles city schools very likely constituted the largest progressive system in the nation, or, at the very least, the most progressive large system in the nation. As early as 1924, it had become the first California city to adopt an activity program for grades kindergarten through sixth.²⁷ Consistent with the most current pedagogical thought of the day, the Los Angeles plan for curriculum construction started with the child's activities or interests, then showed their link to subject matter. Teachers were encouraged to make informal adjustments in the curriculum in order to meet individual differences among students. Since all activities presumably involved both simple and difficult tasks, this was seen as a relatively manageable expectation.

The most progressive and best-known elementary school in Los Angeles, although part of the city system, was University Elementary School, a laboratory school attached to the University of California, Los Angeles. Through numerous visits to UES, summer session courses at UCLA, county institutes for teachers,

and some—but not expansive—writing by the school's energetic director, Corine Seeds, the progressive message was heard. Although that message was not particularly unique, meaning nothing that Teachers College, Columbia University, wasn't familiar with, the school's implementation of progressive practices was apparently uniquely good. Particular attention was directed toward community life studies growing out of children's interest in "things that go."²⁸ Considerable emphasis was given to airplane centers and boat centers, particularly the latter.

Unlike Los Angeles, the San Francisco city schools took no clearly defined position toward progressivism. No study of the elementary curriculum was made between 1917 and 1943. For that matter, no curriculum department existed to make one. Changes nevertheless evolved, of course. Eighteen courses of study were published between 1934 and 1939, the curriculum was expanded, and social promotion practiced, but without clearly established district policy to guide the activity. When a district inquiry into the affairs of the elementary schools finally did take place in 1943, it was made because of much questioning by parents and citizens. By then there was a feeling that teachers "now neglect the fundamentals and devote themselves to teaching the fads and frills."²⁹ Apparently the progressive tide had been too strong for alert teachers and administrators to resist, with or without official policy.

It is hard to say just how much difference this revisionist activity made in the lives of the children affected by it. At least in the short run most school systems which studied the results of their progressively directed programs appeared satisfied. In 1939 Los Angeles reported that student achievement was generally higher than it had been in 1924 or 1937.³⁰ It is difficult, though, to assess the extent of success enjoyed by a particular trend in education. Other variables in society—home life, economic conditions, child-rearing practices, personalities of different teachers—certainly played a part, and these were just as susceptible to change over time as were educational practices. Furthermore, it is impossible to hold the conditions of time constant and compare what was to what might have been given a change in a particular variable.

The major transformation of the American secondary school, like that of the elementary school, had occurred well before 1930. By 1920 public secondary schools in the United States were enrolling more students than their private counterparts for the first time in census history. Enrollment in public high schools more than doubled between 1910 and 1920 and very nearly doubled again between 1920 and 1930. For California, the picture was much the same. Public school enrollment in grades nine through twelve more than tripled between 1910 and 1920, then increased from 126,913 in 1920 to 232,000 over the next decade.³¹

Lawrence Cremin has maintained that between the National Education Association's Committee of Ten report in 1893 and the Seven Cardinal Principles of 1918, the high school was transformed from an institution "conceived for the few" to one "conceived for all."³² "Conceived" was a good, or at least a fortunate choice of words. Universal secondary education appropriate to the needs of all comers was not being achieved in 1918, or 1935, or 1970, for that matter. During the 1930's, however, a substantial attempt was made to fulfill the promise. Frequent expressions of dissatisfaction were heard concerning the slow realization of

the 1918 principles. Unquestionably, the public high school had expanded its offerings dramatically between 1890 and 1920. In 1890 the U.S. Office of Education reported that pupil enrollment at four-year high schools covered only eight subjects: U.S. history, chemistry, physics, algebra, geometry, Latin, French, and German. By 1922, thirty-nine subjects were covered, with courses in business, the fine arts, and practical arts finding a place in the curriculum.³³ Much of the shift occurred in the academic offerings, with the principal additions being English and the new social sciences.

Begging for the moment the question of how widespread implementation of progressive principles was during the thirties, there can be little question regarding the scope of teacher awareness concerning which ideas were "in." The following tongue-in-cheek resolution written by a science teacher at Beverly Hills High School reflects both an awareness of the direction education was supposed to be going and frustration in attempting to get there:

Whereas, we are all quite agreed that the principles and theories of progressive education, as stated *viva voce* and in print often and everywhere by many authorities, are sound; and

Whereas, the pragmatic application of these principles and theories seem to have been, in the public schools, at least, somewhat overlooked; and

Whereas, the present writer is quite prepared to rush in;

Therefore, Be It Resolved That the following program of ways and means to reduce theory to practice be adopted and put into operation in a school of secondary grade.

The motion thus being before the house, it is hoped that discussion will follow, and that it will strictly be centered upon the here-and-now *application* of theories rather than upon the higher (and vaguer) level of theory *per se*.³⁴

Secondary education in California was touched by progressivism, but it never became dominated by it. Certainly, some new courses were attempted with little regard to whether or not their credit would be acceptable for college entrance. Secondly, orthodoxy was challenged in the area of planning and organizing for teaching; numerous attempts were made at fusing courses and making existing courses more functional and related to present-day problems. Thus, for example, good mathematics became functional mathematics. As on the elementary level, nothing in the legal regulations prohibited a reorganization of the curriculum as long as the legally required subjects—manners and morals, dangers of alcohol and narcotics, fire prevention, American history and civics, public safety and accident prevention—were included somewhere.³⁵

A new passion for the social studies was to emerge as the most important development in secondary curriculum during the thirties, a development that could not have been predicted in 1929.³⁶ The pangs of depression stimulated serious discussion of social reconstruction, and that in turn helped produce changes in the social studies curriculum. Unlike child-centeredness, here at last was something "progressive" suited to the institutional capability of the high school.

Consistent with this orientation and the spirit of the new national administration, a special committee of the Association of California Principals prepared a report, "A New Deal in Secondary Education," which it adopted at its 1933 conference. After finding the schools accountable for the economic collapse, the



Superintendent of Public Instruction Vierling Kersey, though conservative in background and a member of the Sons of the Revolution, urged education in social concern and "social reconstruction," which included control of excessive private profit.

committee resolved to "prepare the rising generation to meet its social, political, and economic problems more effectively than the incumbent adult population has been able to do."³⁷ The existing instructional programs were assertedly "socially impotent, politically spineless and economically innocuous—academic 'apple sauce'—cultural custard."³⁸

The desire of State Superintendent Kersey to lead in the transformation of secondary education soon became abundantly clear. In 1932 he complained to a convention of secondary principals that education on their level "crowns subject matter as supreme and tends to make of it a hurdle for the elimination of all but the most academically minded."³⁹ As the state sank slowly into the depths of economic depression, he grew in his resolve to link the cause of social reconstruction with educational reform on the secondary level. Determining the content of courses according to adolescent needs and interests was still pedagogically fashionable; indeed, adolescent study gained during the thirties. But adjusting the curriculum for the greater social good was the most fashionable idea of all during the middle of the decade.

Organizationally the task of state-inspired, but not state-enforced, reconstruction of the curriculum was approached through committees. A newly formed Advisory Committee on Secondary Education, representative of all types of public secondary schools, public and private colleges, and universities was formed and charged with evaluating current practices, outlining experimental programs, and assessing the progress of the reconstruction program. Neither it nor the state department had any legal authority to direct schools to change their practices.⁴⁰ Members of a second Committee on Cooperating Schools were charged with developing a comprehensive project in curriculum experimentation involving certain selected secondary schools, together with the schools below and above them which sent or received their students.⁴¹ Each of nine regional committees organized by the larger committee was assigned the responsibility of collecting reports from curriculum revision projects, planning regional conferences, con-

tacting workers in the various schools, and evolving criteria for the evaluation of teaching, administering, and guidance practices.

Leadership from the state educational authority, enthusiastic for reform and well organized though it was, did not produce anything like a total commitment to progressive practices in California's secondary schools. The most tangible changes between 1934 and 1939 were evident from the work of the cooperating schools. Many administrators were disenchanted with the alleged overly academic and college-preparatory orientation of the conventional curriculum. They saw the real or imagined impediment to reform as college entrance requirements, particularly as imposed by the University of California. The chief innovative features of California's program of cooperating schools were similar to those of the schools in the Progressive Education Association's Eight-Year Study. Only the strong evaluation component was absent. Through a cooperative agreement between the university, the Association of California Secondary School Principals, and the California State Department of Education, students trained through the experimental program could be admitted to the university upon the recommendation of their principal without the usual marks or other entrance requirements.⁴²

Aside from a few inspired experiments and some noble statements of intent, the rate of change was not particularly impressive. In fact, charges leveled against the secondary curriculum in the late thirties were very little different from those common several years earlier. Allegedly, it was still too rigid, still failed to take account of major social trends, and still gave too little attention to the needs and interests of pupils. According to estimates made by the State Department of Education in 1938, some 25 per cent of the 400 senior and four-year high schools had instituted experimental or semiexperimental programs. Most pertained to basic or core curriculums; remedial work in reading, mathematics, and English skills; orientation for first-year students; and courses in senior problems.⁴³ Before the decade ended, approximately a third of the state's senior and four-year high schools had established "senior problems" courses dealing with the concerns of youth about to leave high school.⁴⁴

Of all the innovations discussed during the thirties, none received so positive a response at the secondary level as the core curriculum concept. By 1937, three-quarters of the 125 junior high schools in the state were practicing some form of subject fusion.⁴⁵ Fusion of English and social studies into something called a "core" was by far the most common pattern. Teachers typically were assigned two such double-period classes, one single-period class outside of the core, and in most cases a homeroom. By bringing content from the social studies together with expressional activities from English, it was expected that increased opportunities would be provided for extensive reading, written and oral expression, class discussions, group activities, and pupil research. Further, it was assumed that a new organizational structure would help improve articulation between the elementary and junior high schools, while at the same time improving student-teacher rapport by reducing the number of students assigned to each faculty member.

A fairly illustrative account of activities in a two-period core class is reflected in the daily log kept by Mrs. Lois Vinette of Bancroft Junior High in Los Angeles.⁴⁶

DESCRIPTIVE LOG OF ACTIVITIES FOR FIRST DAY

Approximate Time	Type of Activity Going On
5 Minutes	Business Meeting: Roll is taken; supplies are checked; our song leader announces that it is Virginia's birthday and leads us in singing the birthday song in her honor.
10 Minutes	News Flashes: Each day, except Friday, a committee, composed of one-fourth of the class, presents the news of the day. Our current-events-bulletin board is a wall newspaper called <i>The American</i> . It is divided into four sections, "Our City," "Our State," "Our Nation," and "Our Neighbor Nations." Of the ten pupils in each day's news-flash group, two bring items on each of the latter divisions. This eliminates the possibility of half or three-fourths of the class bringing the same news items. There is a chairman for each day of the week, and the news flashes are given over our room microphone.
10 Minutes	Spelling: Dorothy, the day's spelling chairman, presents the spelling lesson.
30 Minutes	Radio Program: The class listens to the American School of the Air presentation of the story of Balboa.

INTERMISSION

5 Minutes	Roll call and a short discussion of Balboa's life as presented over the radio.
15 Minutes	Grammar: Use of the apostrophe. Five minutes in explanation of the rules and copying them into work book. Five minutes in oral drill. Five minutes in a quick, dictated test for practice, not marking; to be kept in work book.
15 Minutes	GroupWork: (This is a continuation of a period spent in the library last Friday, when each of the seven groups into which the class is divided has been assigned a particular problem on which to do research reading.) Each pupil reports to his own group the results of his Friday reading period. The group decides which reports are the best ones to be presented to the entire class, and either the group chairman or another member of the committee plans a brief summary of the other reports. This can all be done in about twenty minutes. The class then resumes its regular seating, and each group presents, through the selected reports, its solution of the problem upon which it had been reading. Today's problems were based upon the causes that led up to the Revolutionary War.

Several surveys conducted during the middle and late thirties provide some clues as to the extent of revision activity in California's secondary schools. To cite but one, Aubrey A. Douglass, chief of the state department's division of secondary education, reported results of a questionnaire-survey returned by 321 principals representing both senior and four-year high schools. Three-fifths of the schools were found to be deemphasizing grammar; almost all were emphasizing current social, political, and economic problems. Courses pertaining to problems of home membership were also on the rise. Nearly half of the principals were taking, or had already taken steps to "socialize" secondary school mathematics, albeit only

5 per cent of the representatives believed they had made substantial progress in that direction. Nearly half claimed to be making instruction more dependent upon pupil activity. Finally, the Douglass survey revealed that few changes had actually occurred in school grading practices.⁴⁷

For all the internal sound and fury, the "new education" received a generally quiet reception from the public. As usual most parents were rather accepting of whatever the schools did, except many were less than satisfied with the extent and quality of vocational training and vocational counseling.⁴⁸ Schoolmen could see that in a time of economic anxiety it was imperative that the gap between their policies and public support of those policies be kept as narrow as possible. Descriptions of themselves as "tax-eaters" and purveyors of "fads and frills" had to be handled quickly and effectively by educators. As the public became more tax-conscious, the schoolmen became more public-relations conscious.

All school districts, including small rural ones, were encouraged to interpret their programs to the public, indeed to "advertise" or publicize the good things they were doing.⁴⁹ Doubtlessly it was far more than coincidence that accounted for the State Department of Education establishing its Committee on Public Relations in 1933—at the very bottom of the Depression. Included on the committee were citizens from key civic groups around the state: the League of Women Voters, American Legion, California Federation of Women's Clubs, California Federation of Labor, and members of various local school boards. Besides seeking organizational support, the department inaugurated a series of weekly radio broadcasts on "Education at the Crossroads" to explain the public school system's needs and to extol its greatness to the people of California.⁵⁰

Interspersed with public relations statements concerning the appropriateness and rightness of the "new education," there were ample assurances that "the three R's are everlastingly taught," and that children would complete their schooling with a "higher degree of ability in reading, arithmetic, spelling, geography, and history than at any former time."⁵¹ Almost inevitably, perhaps, the school administrator of the thirties was guided in his approach to curriculum by a desire to be pedagogically "with-it" and a personal instinct for political survival. In that respect he differed but slightly from his successors.

Perhaps the only certain conclusion one can draw from the flurry of pedagogical and community relations activity occurring during the thirties is that the schools did change in the several important ways discussed above. Indeed, aside for some scattered team teaching, non-graded classrooms, learning resource centers, and additional late-model hardware, the student of today's schools would not find his curriculum and school organization shockingly different from those experienced by city students thirty-five years earlier. Many, perhaps even most, of the concepts and devices for organizing the curriculum which were popular ideas in 1970 were also popular ideas during the thirties.

Returning to Bode's assertion with which this essay began—that institutionalized education is slow to respond to social changes—one may properly question whether public education can ever alter its patterns rapidly enough to satisfy reformers. The fact that schools are under the direct and indirect control of sanctioning bodies, *e.g.* the legislature, courts, state board of education, and local school boards, who themselves hold differing values on policy issues, inevitably

makes public education a product of the political process. This reality, plus the propensity of schoolmen to succumb to institutionalized inertia, mitigates against a speedy resolution of difficult issues. On the other hand, a certain measure of stability and independence does accrue to professional educators in cases where those responsible for setting policy guidelines fail to agree on a position, or else simply do not concern themselves with the issues. In the case of progressive education, it is generally agreed by historians that the movement was one product of a larger progressive force evident in early twentieth-century America. Nevertheless, the actual day-to-day conceptualization and implementation of policies was left in the hands of educators.

Historically, schoolmen have generally aimed to please as wide a constituency as possible by focusing their reforms in the direction of a dominate influence. In the thirties it was progressive education. In the late fifties and early sixties it was "academic excellence" and "basic education." Today, while a substantial portion of the public supports the notion of performance contracts and accountability from the schools,⁵² a highly influential minority of reformers are calling for humanizing, naturalizing, and personalizing education. In the absence of decisive leadership or a clear societal direction, one may well expect that the golden mean will continue to prevail.

THE PHOTO of Heffernan, courtesy California State Library, Sacramento; that of Kersey, courtesy California Historical Society.

NOTES

1. *Crossroads*, 91 (New York: Newson and Co., 1938).
2. The high school graduates in 1967-68 represented 77.6 per cent of the class that entered in ninth grade in 1964-65, an improvement over the ratio five years earlier when the 1962-63 high school graduates represented 70.9 per cent of the ninth grade class of 1959-60. Richard H. Barr and Betty J. Foster, *Fall 1968 Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools*, 4 (Washington: U.S. Office of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics, 1969).
3. See George S. Counts, "Dare Progressive Education be Progressive?," *Progressive Education*, 9: 257-263 (April, 1932), and *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: The John Day Co., 1932).
4. Of the relatively recent critics of the schools, Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner are probably the most aware of their pedagogical ancestry, acknowledging openly their debt to John Dewey and the "progressives." See *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).
5. "Handbook for Rural Parent Teacher Activities and Relationships," California Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 12 (September 15, 1933), p. 9.
6. John Dewey, *Problems of Men*, 137-38 (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946).
7. Other leading centers of organized research into human maturation at this time included the Brush Foundation, Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland; the Denver Child Research Council, University of Colorado; the Adolescent Study Unit, School of Medicine and Institute of Human Relations, Yale University; the Harvard Growth Study, Harvard School of Education; the Center for Research in Child Health and Development, Harvard School of Public Health; and the Co-operative Study of School Children, Harvard University.
8. "Claremont Junior High School and University High School in the 1930's, Historical and Philosophical Background," Unpublished manuscript by John J. Geyer, Rutgers University.
9. *Family Adjustments*, Long Beach City Schools, p. 5.
10. Lois H. Meek, *et al.* (New York: Progressive Education Association).

11. Charles L. Jacobs, "The Junior High Schools of California," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 12: 496 (December, 1937).
12. Helen J. Hunt, "The Curriculum at the Claremont Junior High School," *University High School Journal*, 15: 73-78 (January, 1937); H. N. Massey, "Junior High Achievement Rests on Happiness," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 13: 484-487 (December, 1938).
13. Vierling Kersey, "Public Education and Social-Economic Reconstruction," *California Schools*, 5: 82 (March, 1934).
14. Percy E. Davidson, "The General Aims of Secondary Education," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education*, 8: 27 (October, 1932).
15. *California Schools*, 4: 316 (October, 1933).
16. F. A. Henderson, "What Attitudes and Social Qualities Are Needed in Citizens to Help Solve Our Problems," *California Journal of Elementary Education*, 2: 10 (August, 1933).
17. "Our New Superintendent of Public Instruction," *Sierra Educational News*, 25: 12 (March, 1929).
18. Vierling Kersey, "Contemporary Life and a New Education," *California Schools*, 4: 189-190 (May, 1933).
19. "A Review of Public Education in California for the Year 1933," *California Schools*, 5: 5 (January, 1934). Social reconstructionism, as both a term and a concept, had a relatively moderate meaning in addition to its better-known identification with political radicalism. It was not merely a case of politically moderate educators succumbing to radicalism, but of these same educators equating "social reconstructionism" with moderate and appropriate solutions to pressing economic problems. The only book on the subject in education, C. A. Bowers, *The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years* (New York: Random House, 1969), equates social reconstructionism solely with political radicalism.
20. "School Administration as Social Engineering," *California Schools*, 5: 379 (November, 1934).
21. "Liberalism in Education," *California Schools*, 5: 415 (December, 1934).
22. Kimball Wiles, "Building America: A Case in Point," *Educational Leadership*, 6: 108-114 (November, 1948).
23. Vierling Kersey, "Current Educational Issues and Emerging Goals," *California Schools*, 6: 4 (January, 1935).
24. William C. Bagley and George C. Kyte, *The California Curriculum Study* (Berkeley: University of California Printing Office, 1926); *Thirty-second Biennial Report, 1926*, California Superintendent of Public Instruction, p. 51.
25. Lorraine M. Sherer, "Curriculum Development in Los Angeles County," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 22 (November, 1932), p. 222.
26. Helen Heffernan, "Preface," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 13, Part I (July 1, 1932), p. v.
27. *Course of Study for the Kindergartens, First and Second Grades; Course of Study for the Third and Fourth Grades; Course of Study for the Fifth and Sixth Grades* (Los Angeles City School District, 1924).
28. Clayton Burrow, "Community Life in the Harbor," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 16 (August 15, 1935), p. 1.
29. *Survey of the Elementary Curriculum in San Francisco*, Board of Education (San Francisco Unified School District, 1944), p. 7.
30. "New Methods vs. Old," *Progressive Education*, 18: 31 (Yearbook Supplement, 1941).
31. *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1911, p. 107; 1921, p. 124; 1966, p. 122. Most of the students could have been found in 425 three- and four-year high schools; the remainder in some of the 152 junior high schools (those enrolling ninth graders).
32. Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Revolution in American Secondary Education, 1893-1918," *Teachers College Record*, 56: 307 (March, 1955).
33. *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1948-1950*, U.S. Office of Education.
34. Lowell C. Frost, "Squaring Practice with Theory," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 10: 239 (March, 1935).
35. Aubrey A. Douglass, "Rules and Regulations of the California State Board of Education Relating to High School Programs of Study," *California Schools*, 8: 131 (May, 1937).

36. In January, 1929, 368 senior high school principals in California were asked: "What do you regard as the most progressive educational feature which you have either introduced or which you intend to introduce in connection with your school?" Guidance, homogeneous grouping practices, improved instruction and supervision, curriculum revision and expansion, extra-curricular activities, and various augmentations in the school's physical resources were the leading points mentioned by the 64 per cent who responded; J. O. Gossett, "Interests of Principals and Current Economical Measures in California High Schools," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education*, 5: 184 (January, 1930).
37. Frank W. Hart, "A New Deal in Secondary Education," *California Quarterly of Secondary Education*, 8: 331 (June, 1933).
38. Hart, *Ibid.*, 334.
39. Vierling Kersey, "What California Expects of Secondary Schools," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 12 (June 15, 1932), p. 3.
40. Walter R. Hepner, "First Steps in Reorganization of Secondary Schools," *California Schools*, 5: 50-51 (February, 1934).
41. On February 1, 1939, the Cooperating Schools included Burbank Senior High School, Carpinteria High School, David Starr Jordan High School (Long Beach), Eagle Rock High School (Los Angeles), Garfield High School (Los Angeles), Manuel Arts High School (Los Angeles), University High School (Oakland), Pasadena Junior College and Senior High School, Sequoia Union High School (Redwood City), and Yuba City Union High School. "Programs of the Cooperating Secondary Schools in California," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 3 (May, 1939).
42. It was agreed that students might enter the university with no algebra or geometry, but in such cases these subjects were to be completed with due college credit before requirements for the junior certificate were adjudged met. They might also enter without foreign language and without the prescribed laboratory exercises as part of the year of required science or with courses considerably different from the usual. Further, it was understood that the schools were free to modify their usual system of marking and assigning grades. "Programs of the Cooperating Secondary Schools in California," 1-4.
43. Aubrey A. Douglass, "The Program of Secondary Education," *California Schools*, 9: 242-243 (December, 1938).
44. "A Course in Senior Problems," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 6 (July, 1939), p. v.
45. Jacobs, "The Junior High Schools of California," 493.
46. Walker Brown and Ray Compton, "What Takes Place in the Integrated Type Classes," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 10: 291 (April, 1935).
47. Aubrey A. Douglass, "The Next Steps in Improving the Secondary Program," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 11: 206-214 (April, 1936).
48. Walter C. Eels, "What do Parents Think of Their Schools?," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 13: 146-151 (March, 1938).
49. Helen Heffernan, "Interpreting the School Program to the Public," Department of Education *Bulletin*, No. 22 (November 15, 1932), pp. 120-127.
50. Leighton H. Johnson, *Development of the Central State Agency for Public Education in California, 1849-1949*, 113 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1952).
51. Vierling Kersey, *et al.*, *Your Children and Their Schools*, 9-10 (Los Angeles City Schools, 1937).
52. In late April, 1971, the Gallup organization found 49 per cent of the public favoring performance contracts, against 28 per cent opposed; 70 per cent favored giving local students national tests so that their educational achievement could be compared with students elsewhere. See George Gallup, "The Third Annual Survey of the Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools, 1971," *Phi Delta Kappa*, LIII: 36-37 (September, 1971).

California Barns—

As Drawn by Earl Thollander

I like barns. There's something good about entering their dark, cavernous, airy interiors and smelling the barn odors. Perhaps you have the same feelings though your rural memories may be vestigial.

With this reflection California author Earl Thollander prefaces his forthcoming book on California barns, soon to be published by the California Historical Society. Commissioned by the society, Mr. Thollander, renowned artist-author of the best-selling Backroads of California, has traveled up and down the state for several years, making pen and ink drawings of eighty historic barns and barn-like coach houses, cooperages, and other rural service buildings in a loving attempt to record a soon-extinct genre of American architecture—the family farm building. With characteristic eye for detail and poignancy of touch, Mr. Thollander has sketched these buildings which, though scarred, dilapidated, or scheduled for destruction, are a fond part of the people's history and heritage in California.

Barns were as important as the home itself in horse-and-buggy California, notes Mr. Thollander. Later they were used by the small farmer as hay and feeding barns for cows. Now that farming has become big business, the classic barn has become an anachronism—along with the small farmer. Both have fallen victim, he observes, to a less personal, faster, and more profit-oriented way of life.

Reflecting their original owners' temperaments, memories, nationalities, or dreams, rather than the careful plans of trained architects, the buildings exhibit almost every imaginable form: round, square, butterfly, domed, sixteen-sided and others less easily categorized. As engaging as the forms are the intriguing artifacts of past residents and present owners which Mr. Thollander includes in his drawings: hay, farm implements, abandoned jalopies, and animals—chickens, spiders, owls, bats, bees, swallows, and doves. Directions for locating the barn sites are included in a full appendix.

As Mr. Thollander freely admits, Making drawings on location is an adventure. You must be ready to enjoy and marvel at whatever comes along. And you need the nerve and effrontery to sit down and sketch anywhere.

Writing briefly of himself and his own history, he reflects, My drawing instrument is a stick of bamboo, whittled Japanese-style to a blunt, chisel-like point. My ink was Hong Kong Kwong Yune Kee Ki Company "Writting" ink. The paper is hand-made Millbourne English water-color paper. My inspiration for drawing is the works of the Chinese masters and the Japanese masters, especially Seshu and Hiroshige, the books of American Eric Sloane, and the philosophy of Confucius . . . a picture being worth a thousand words.

Following are drawings from the forthcoming book with the author's notes on the buildings he sketched. Most of his information on the history of the buildings comes from conversations with owners, former owners, knowledgeable neighbors, and local old timers whose memories are frequently the only existing history of the structures.

Morgan Territory Barn . . .

In 1856, Jeremiah Morgan found the tract of land in Contra Costa County, now called Morgan Territory, while he was hunting bear. Morgan liked the area, so he claimed and fenced the land and moved his family there from Ignacio Valley. Morgan descendants still occupy the land.





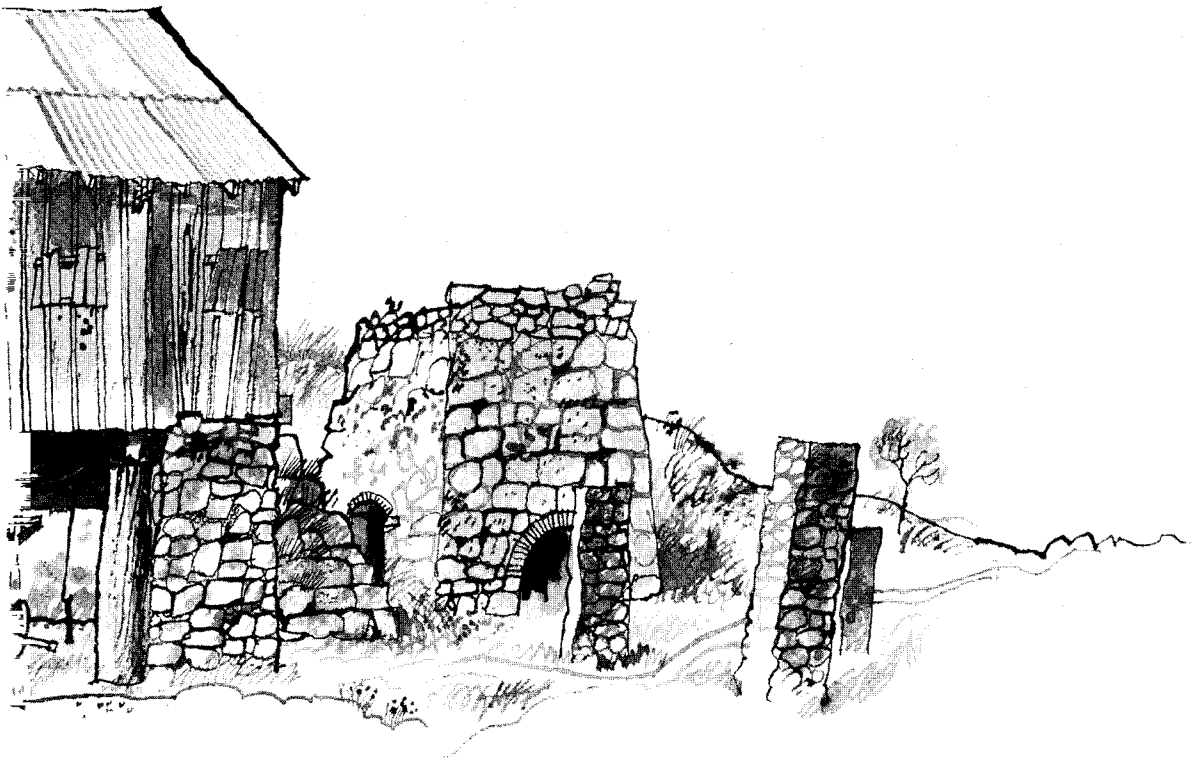
EARL
THOLLANDER.



Cowell Cooperage Barn

This century-old, barn-like building on rock stilts may look like a hayloft, but it was the Cowell Lime Company's cooperage. The lime kilns are just behind it; the cooked and cooled lime chunks were stored in barrels made in the cooperage. For years hazel wands gathered on the Cowell Ranch were used as barrel hoops. Men were paid a dollar a thousand for gathering them.

The property now belongs to the University of California at Santa Cruz.



EARL
HOLLANDER

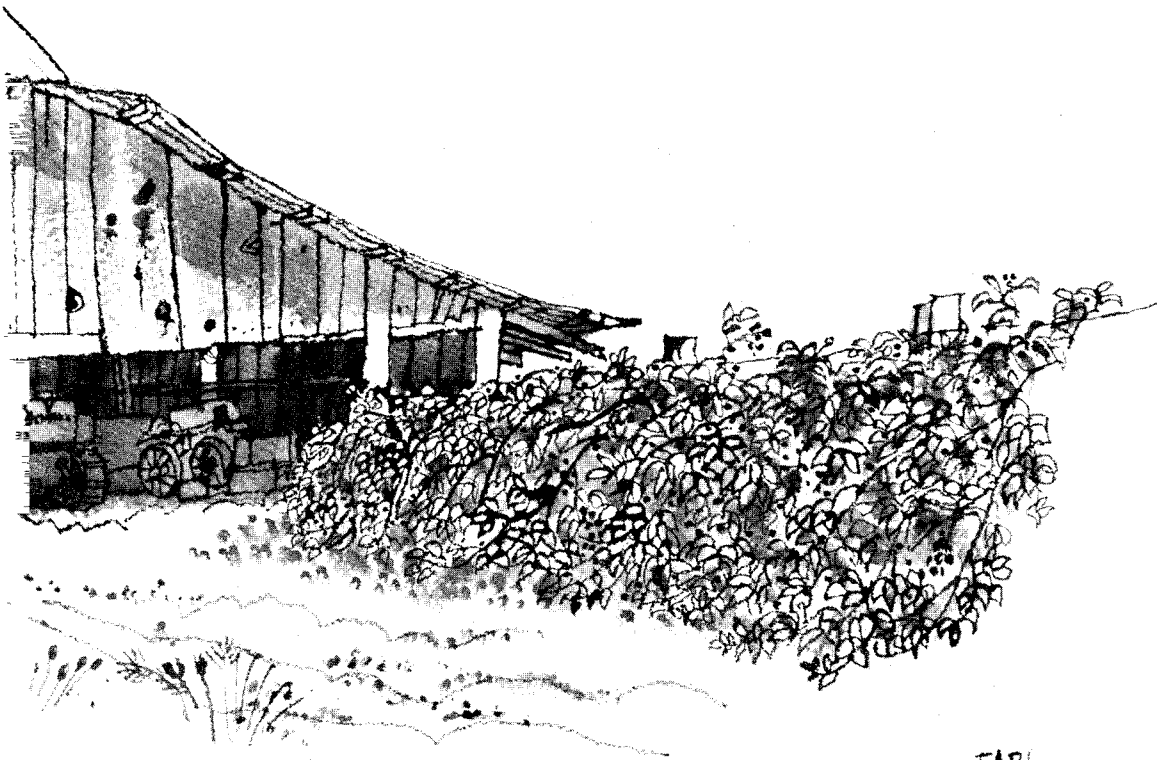


Clark Foss Barn

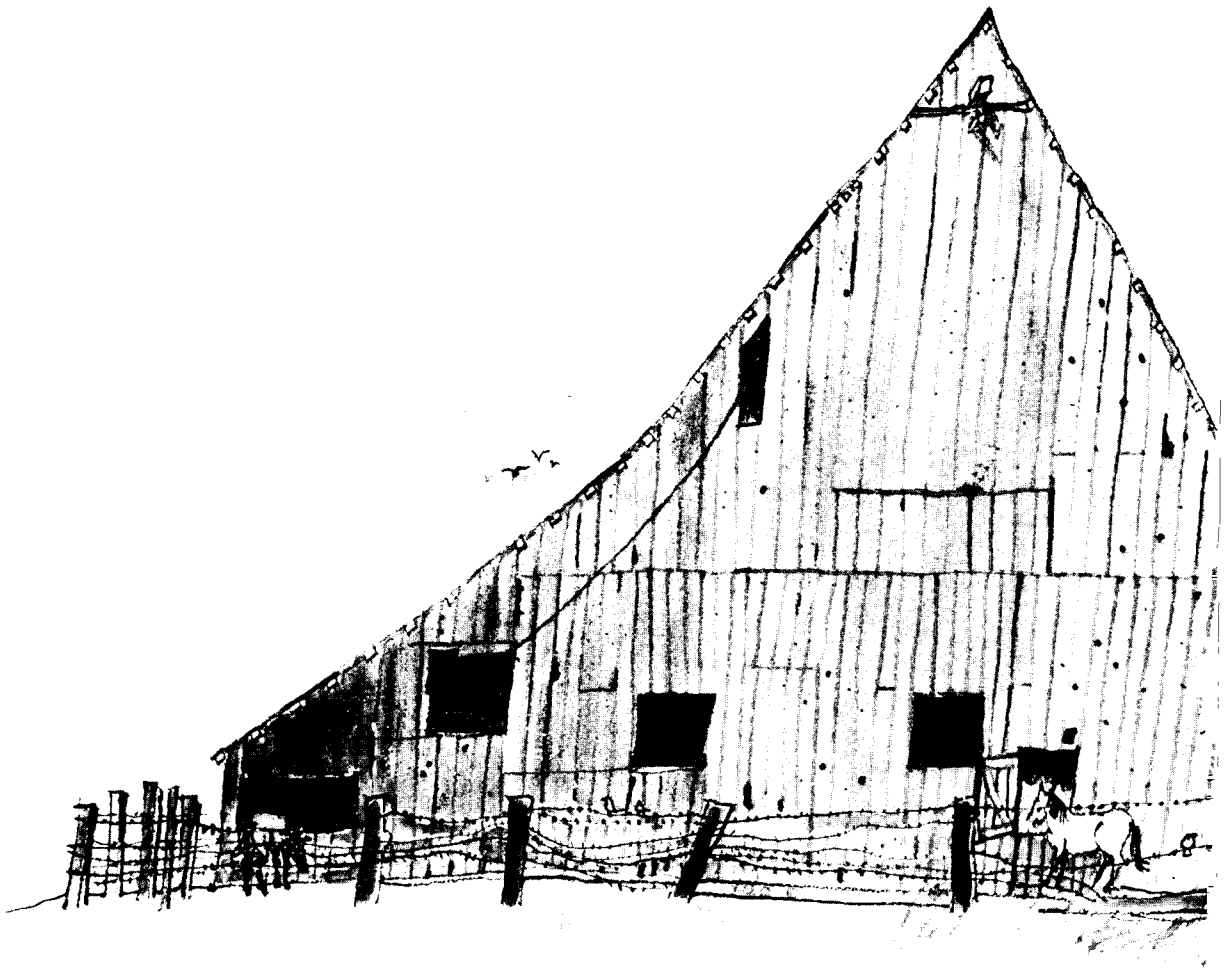
In 1878, a coach and four horses were regularly driven seven miles from Calistoga northwest over Murray Hill to "Fossville." The coach was driven by Clark Foss, who owned the hotel at Fossville, Sonoma County. Visitors could relax there, refresh themselves, and spend the night before going on to see the then famous geysers east of today's town of Geyserville.

Frank Turner, Sr., living at the old Fossville site, has the hotel guest book. It contains the signatures of many famous people of the day, most notable of whom was Ulysses S. Grant.

Today, all that's left is Clark Foss's barn, creaking with each wind over its inventory of farm equipment and paraphernalia. The roof rafters were alive with bats, and standing inside, I could hear their scratching and squeaking sounds.



EARL
THOLLANDER



The Strang Barn . . .

Jared Strang came to Sierra Valley in 1858 and eventually ran five to ten thousand head of cattle annually. He built his milking barn in 1860 with hand-hewn timbers. There is a sketch of it in Smith and Ferris' HISTORY OF SIERRA, LASSEN & PLUMAS COUNTIES, published in 1892.

In 1885, the Surrey Barn on the right was constructed. Arthur Strang, grandson of Jared, still used this barn at the time of my drawing. He said that the barn is the oldest in Sierra Valley.



EARL
THOLLANDER

Fountain Grove Barn . . .

Thomas Lake built the Fountain Grove barn with 16 sides in 1873. The stalls, arranged in a circular pattern, make room for 28 horses. The barn stands on a hill in full view of Highway 101 traffic just north of Santa Rosa in Sonoma County.



Fountain Grove Ranch Round Barn, 8-3



Chileans in California During the Gold Rush Period and the Establishment of the Chilean Consulate

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fellow of the California Historical Society; and author and editor of many articles
on foreign consuls in California.*

THEY NO LONGER EXIST AND ARE LITTLE REMEMBERED. Yet such place names as Chile Town, Chile Gulch, Little Chile, Chilecito, Chile Bar, Chile Flat, Chileno Valley, Chilean Mill, and Los Muertos testify to the considerable presence of Chilenos in California during and after the gold rush era.

The term chile itself is of Nahuatl origin; it is the fruit of the nightshade family plant, which produces the most picante aji-pepper known. Used in all Mexican seasoning and sauces, the chile is best known in California and the West for chile con carne. The Californians cultivated, sold, ate, and even smelled chile. Because the chile-eaters were primarily Spanish speaking, the term "Chileno" was applied by gringos or Anglos to all Spanish-speaking people—formerly also "greasers," now Chicanos. This, of course, has caused considerable confusion in the history of the native Chileans in California.

Frequently, too, the Anglos could not distinguish between the Chileans and the many more Mexicans and Peruvians and other Latin Americans who came to California during the gold rush period. When Spanish-speaking people gathered together, the virile, thoroughly individualistic, and uncompromising Chileans usually took a leading part in opposing Anglo aggression, and, hence, various Spanish-speaking peoples were lumped together under the nationality of the most outspoken as "Chilenos."

(In recent days some have tried to make a distinction between "real" Chileans and other Latin American, Spanish-speaking peoples by calling those who came from Chile "Chileans" and other Latin Americans "Chilenos." In this paper I use the terms Chileans and Chilenos interchangeably in my discussion of the native Chileans who traveled to California from Chile and their trials, tribulations and actions—both official and individual—in the gold rush period.)

It is well known that the California gold rush was a major and wide-reaching catalyst in western history. In January, 1848, for example, there were only two known native Chileans in California. Within a year of the gold discovery, esti-

mates of their numbers ranged from a grossly exaggerated 60,000 to a woefully underestimated 3,000. Whatever their numbers—and they were obviously dwarfed by Yankees and other Americans—Chileans did comprise the majority of South Americans in California. This was not surprising, for all ships doubling Cape Horn obligatorily put in at Valparaíso after the terrible southern storms to provision and repair their vessels. Moreover, Chile's geographical location led naturally to the possession of a merchant marine of importance among the South American nations.

Yet only two Chilean authors were eye-witnesses in gold rush California, and they both left negative impressions. Vicente Pérez Rosales, who was considered French by foreigners and Chileno by Hispanoamericans, came early in 1849. He visited "Little Chile," a barrio at the foot of Telegraph Hill (bounded by Montgomery, Pacific, Jackson, and Kearny streets) in San Francisco, attempted to mine gold and failed, spoke of having to use his vessel as a hospital, and returned to Chile poorer than ever and sorely disillusioned. His misadventure (he described his experiences as a truly ill-judged action) was published early and later translated into English. The second Chilean visitor was the distinguished Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna who arrived in California in 1853 to sell a shipment of wheat. He disliked California, calling it a cradle of vice and an Inferno for foreigners, and he hardly mentioned Chileans, except Rear Admiral Wooster and Rafael Martínez whose tombs were in a San Francisco cemetery. Both authors thus experienced the gold rush era in California during which perversion, chaos, and crimes reached new heights, during which San Francisco's Chilecito was destroyed and the city dominated by vigilantes, and during which nativism was rampant and legal restraints, even government, were absent.

The disillusioned Rosales described Chilecito as a *callampa de sexo femenino*, a fountain of cholera and syphilis, where in the most abject existence lived *filles de joie*. Rosarita León was the queen, and her subjects were Remigia Gallardo, Peta Guerrero, Margarita Fernández, and others, plus a horde of "masquereaux" who regularly dined with them. In contrast, Herbert Asbury, in his *Barbary Coast* (published in 1933), reports that in the spring of 1849, Chilecito housed fifteen white women and nearly 300 Chilena women of whom two-thirds were harlots from Mexico, Peru, and Chile. By Chilena women he meant females who were brazen, bronze-skinned, and Spanish speaking.

Yet for all his distaste, Asbury did not state or imply that the criminal uprising of 1849 and 1850 in gold rush California was instigated by the wretched Chileans who lived in the utmost misery at the foot of Telegraph Hill in Chilecito. Rather, he acknowledged that systematic persecution of this group began in the mines and only later spread to the pueblos and cities. Anglo miners provoked the Chilenos in every way, stealing their utensils, destroying their homes, driving them from their ranchos and hovels, violating their women, beating their children, whipping and even hanging them under the pretext of doing justice. The first lynching in the mines—in January, 1849—claimed the lives of two Frenchmen and a Chilean.

Yet to follow were the even more horrendous attacks by the "Hounds," members of the xenophobic and anti-Catholic Society of Regulators. Comprised chiefly of discharged soldiers from Stevenson's regiment and ostensibly organized

to assist one another in case of sickness and danger, the society functioned as a quasi-military organization with martial stripes, officers, and discipline reflecting the military background of many members.¹ With headquarters in a tent called Tammany Hall or the "Shades" on the corner of Pacific and Dupont streets in San Francisco, the Hounds conceived attacks on foreigners in the gold fields, many of whom were Chileans well versed in the processes of extracting gold. Working in bands the Hounds mauled, knifed, and killed Chilenos whose efforts to resist were fruitless. When some Chileans "retired" to San Francisco to establish small stores and restaurants, the Hounds followed to plunder their houses, burn their stores, and rob their liquor repositories. During the first six months of 1849, they invaded "Clark's Point" and Telegraph Hill where they raped women, destroyed hovels, and carried off possessions. Fiestas were frequently ended by the ram-paging Hounds.

As justification the Hounds claimed they had orders from the alcalde of San Francisco to free the city of Spanish Americans and that they were aiding in preserving order. Possibly the attacks were encouraged by the military governor, General Persifor F. Smith, who announced that only United States citizens would be allowed in the gold fields and that foreigners would be considered as trespassers, and by his successor, General Bennett Riley, who publicly acknowledged that emigrants were obnoxious but there was no way to keep them out. Nevertheless, the Hounds' famed assault on Little Chile clearly demonstrates the wave of lawlessness and intimidation by mob rule that swept San Francisco and California during the first half of 1849.

And, clearly, the native Chileans were a major target for the Hounds' violence. (Among the Latin Americans the Chileans had assumed a natural leadership, perhaps because they were better educated; certainly they were more independent and less subservient than the Mexicans and Peruvians.) On July 15, 1849, Pedro Cueto (who later served as Chilean consul) refused to pay a Yankee merchant,



A "typical" Chilean couple were sketched in a California magazine of 1857 as vaguely Negroid and gypsy-like in appearance. The artist's attitudes may have been revealed by the inclusion of a sack of belongings tied to a sword, indicating the destitution of these new immigrants.

George Franks, a disputed bill totaling \$500 for a commission on the purchase of a lot on Montgomery Street. After informing the sheriff of Cueto's refusal to recognize and pay the debt, Franks offered the Hounds one-half of the sum in return for collecting the bill. (The Hounds occasionally aided Alcalde Thaddeus M. Leavenworth in his duties.) Cueto armed himself, and when the collectors appeared, he fired a shot and hit a bystander. The Hounds proceeded to use this incident as an excuse for an all-out attack upon the Spanish-speaking peoples of San Francisco.

After an afternoon of marching and drinking, they formed into companies and spread out across the city. When a bystander inquired of their intentions, he was told that they were going "to whip and drive every damned Chileno out of town." Then, they attacked, and William Heath Davis, who witnessed the affair, heard the screams that followed from Little Chile. The *Alta California* labeled the assault a cowardly outrage; indeed, it may well have been an early example of genocide, except that it was anything but systematic. Mob psychology prevailed, as gangs assaulted Chileans everywhere, shooting some and stealing money, jewelry, clothing, furniture, and gold dust from others. The climax of these outrages was the attack on Little Chile on July 15, after which the Hounds retired to celebrate with stolen wine. This was finally too much for the good citizens who now regarded the Hounds as terrorists, and on the day after the attack, they reacted. Sam Brannan and others harangued the citizenry in Portsmouth Square, then formed a vigilance committee along the lines of a military company to restore law and order.² Suddenly meek, the Hounds tried to flee, but their leaders were captured, tried, and convicted, though some did not serve their sentences because of inadequate prison facilities.³ Others were exiled; some just drifted out of San Francisco; and several were later executed in the mines. A collection was taken up to aid the Chileans, and, thereafter, Chileans were relatively safe in San Francisco, if not in the mines, where their baking, bricklaying, and other skills were in great demand.

Undaunted by the awareness of California's hostility to foreigners, crowds of Chileans seeking fortunes in the gold fields daily booked passages on overcrowded ships stopping in the busy port of Valparaíso on their way to California. Indeed, Chile prospered by supplying provisions for passengers enroute as well as for the population of California. Wheat, flour, coal, vegetables, and other foodstuffs were in heavy demand. Chile's merchant marine was almost stripped of its former *cabotage*, or trade along the Chilean coast, and most of the ships left Chile loaded with provisions and passengers for California. There, however, as other nations soon discovered, their ships were almost denuded of crew when venturesome seamen deserted to try their luck in the gold fields.

Describing the scene on February 14, 1849, the American consul, Thomas O. Larkin, wrote John H. Everett that San Francisco was crowded with people. Many could not obtain a bed, some did not have money. The streets were full of Chileans, natives, and French, all waiting for April to come so that they could head to the mines.

As early as September, 1848, it was reported by Colonel Mason's messenger on his way to Washington that there was a "revolution of gold" in Chile. Confirming the report, Faxon D. Atherton wrote Larkin from Valparaíso on September

10, 1848, that "it is reported here that California is all gold—probably a little glitter has blinded them," and Larkin responded on January 19, 1849, that "our gold region or placers is actually the only thing or circumstance that I ever knew that was not exaggerated. Law, gospel and politics are beginning to be obsolete in the great eagerness to obtain a share of the placers."

For all its informal eagerness to participate in the discovery of gold, Chile's diplomatic relations with the United States in the late 1840's were less than smooth. Chile still had claims pending against the United States, the *Macedonia* claims dating back two decades and more. In company with most of her Latin American sister nations, Chile had been unfriendly to the United States and looked with disfavor and perhaps fear when the United States' "manifest destiny" of territorial expansion provoked the war with Mexico. The concluding treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and the discovery of gold occurred almost at the same moment. Chile looked askance, too, at America's acquisition of Pacific coast territory and ports which might cut into Chilean markets and maritime trade. As well, there were other reasons for Chile's frigidity. For example, shortly after Seth Barton presented his credentials as chargé d'affaires of the United States in Chile in January, 1848, he proceeded to outrage the Chileans when he, a Protestant divorcé, married a Chilean woman in Protestant rites. Barton also tangled with the archbishop on questions regarding protocol and offended the Chileans. Thus, there were bad feelings just at the time when Chilean emigration to California got underway.

In Washington, Manuel Carvalho, Chilean chargé d'affaires since August 9, 1846, asked for Seth Barton's recall. (Washington said it could not oblige due to Barton's political influence with the president.) A short time later, however, Carvalho was caught up in the excitement of the gold rush, and by December, 1848, he was informing Chile that many Americans were already leaving for California and that "our agriculture and merchants would be alerted to the possibilities in California. Nothing could compete with our agricultural products," he wrote, if boats were available. In February, 1849, his fervor matched the mounting excitement in California itself. And by April he was telling his government that the interest of the Chileans in California might require the protection of consuls in the ports of San Francisco, Monterey, and San Diego.

Carvalho soon acted on his own advice. On August 22, 1849, he informed the Chilean government that he had sent a note enclosing a *patente* as consul granted upon his authority. His appointee as consul in San Francisco was Pedro Cueto, a most circumspect Chilean, whom he had informed in a letter of August 16. (Carvalho had a brother in San Francisco who advised him about Cueto.)⁴ Carvalho drew up some provisional instructions for Cueto which he thought might be of use to his foreign office in Chile in formulating a "*bosquejo de la ordenanza Consular*." He concluded his letter to the government by expressing his hope that his action would meet with the minister's approval. On the same day, August 22, Carvalho wrote to Cueto transmitting the *patente* and the *exequatur* which had been granted by Washington and urging him to protect the multitude of Chileans and their property in San Francisco. He mentioned the jealousies, antipathies, and disorders in California, all of which cried for protection of Chileans and their commerce.

For a man in distant Washington, Carvalho was unusually sensitive to conditions in California. His instructions to Cueto were detailed and perceptive. He urged Cueto to make official visits to the principal civil and military officials, showing them his exequatur; if other consuls hoisted their flags on certain days or had national arms on house or office, he was to do the same. He warned Cueto not to be the first to introduce customs and to carefully respect the titles of men with whom he corresponded. When in need of advice he should consult the most prudent consuls in San Francisco. Carvalho informed Cueto, too, that the appointment of consul carried no salary from the Chilean treasury, but that he could collect dues or fees from individuals using his services. Finally he called upon Cueto to inform officially the minister of foreign relations of the day upon which he entered service as consul of Chile in San Francisco.

In November, 1849, Carvalho reported to the minister that the treaty of commerce and navigation between the United States and Chile was expiring and told of the problems to be considered in the negotiations of a new treaty. Is it best for Chile to place American ships on the same footing as Chilean ships? he asked. Is the acquisition of California by the United States a new and secure market for Chile? He advised the minister to study the statistics of 1847.

The treaty issue was an involved one. The treaty of commerce and navigation between Chile and the United States signed May 12, 1836, ended January 29, 1850, and with it ended reciprocity. Chile, with a large merchant marine and a monopoly of Chilean coastwise shipping (*cabotage*), was affected by the gold discovery in California. As was the case with other nations, when Chilean ships arrived in California, most of the crews deserted. Vice-Admiral Blanco Encalada wrote the minister of marine on May 24, 1849, that since most of the Chilean vessels were involved in the California trade, the *cabotage* in Chile had been reduced to only a few boats. The vice-admiral thus advised his government that despite the increased number of competing vessels of other nations, *cabotage* be opened to all vessels and to all flags. Finally, this proposal was decreed for six months on September 4 and later extended. Chile also repealed her law of 1834, and on July 16, 1850, less than six months after Chile opened *cabotage* to all flags, Chile decreed that all vessels pay the same duties as Chilean vessels.

However, since the United States treaty with Chile had expired in January and thus ended the favored-nation treatment, the United States immediately decreed that Chilean vessels in the California trade had to pay more duties than other vessels. This was a harsh decision against Chile at the time of the greatest increase of Chilean exports to California, and it caused difficulties between the two countries and in California. Perhaps it forced Chile's repeal of the law of 1834 in July, 1850. At any rate, the news of the repeal of that law, once again restoring equal treatment to vessels of the United States in Chile, reached Washington two months later, and the United States established reciprocity with Chile in October. (The order to the California customs authorities was dated Washington, October 31, 1850.) Although Chilean vessels immediately asked for the return of excess duties paid, they were successful only after the date of the decree. After the end of protectionism in Chile and the opening of *cabotage* to all flags, the California gold discovery caused the Chilean merchant fleet to increase astonishingly during the years 1850-1853. (Continued on page 60.)

GOLD RUSH CALIFORNIA

As Sketched by a Chilean Observer

Vicente Pérez Rosales was one of two Chilean authors who published their impressions of the madness of the gold rush. His accounts lend an unsympathetic foreigner's perspective to knowledge of the important American experience.

Pérez Rosales arrived in San Francisco early in 1849, visited Chilecito, the barrio at the foot of Telegraph Hill, and headed to the mines. Highly unsuccessful, he and his companions from Chile hopped from one place and enterprise to another, each time going out, as he said, for wool but coming back shorn. In late 1850, after losing what properties he had accumulated in a fire in San Francisco, he and other disillusioned Chileans sailed to Chile on a ship abandoned for two months in the harbor for lack of crew. (Pérez Rosales later served as Chilean consul in Hamburg and published materials which eventually lured thousands of Germans to the frontiers of Chile.)

Pérez Rosales' reflections on his experiences, recorded in a diary, were soon published in Chile and later translated into English. Included in the volume were his sketches of street and mining scenes, some of which are reproduced here. While the works of an untrained artist and hasty in rendition, they convey with wit and sharp perception the bustling, crass, and cosmopolitan quality of everyday life in the rude society suddenly coalesced from strangers—mostly male—seeking financial gain. The characters depicted evidence the anxiety, aggressiveness, and seeming abandonment of traditional social values which characterized their life in the gold fields and gold mining cities wherein, as Rosales remarked, time was money.



at Chileño y al oregonez mirándose de reojo



—¡Qué me miráis, m...!!

—God dem chilian, blust you!... ¡bagre!!!!

—¡Bagre seriu tu madre!!

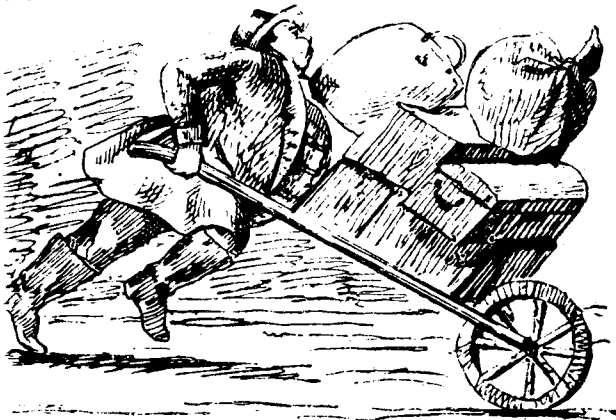
ABOVE: Individual altercations between Yankees and unrepentently proud Chileans were only a prelude to the Chile war.

RIGHT: Liquor assumed a role of major proportion in the womanless early years of the gold rush.



LEFT: A brazenly entrepreneurial mentality, interrupted only by momentary pleasures, characterized the highly unstable gold rush society.

la junta de los ingles, franceses y el acuerdo de octubre 21 al flaco y de Calzones cortos al



FAR LEFT: Until driven out by hostile Yankee miners, Latin Americans and other foreigners, who often worked cooperatively, were common in the gold fields.

Meanwhile, in the Chilean Congress lively discussions developed on the treatment of Chileans in California. Some members suggested sending a Chilean frigate to California. After all, they maintained, before August of 1849, there had been at least fifty-five Chilean boats stranded in California because of desertions; in addition, it was well known that Californians had attacked Little Chile and assaulted Chilean miners. Among members of Congress, Señores Tagle and Vallejo were especially vocal in the ensuing debates. Vallejo offered letters as evidence of the deplorable situation in California.⁵ He was also disturbed by the heavy exodus from Chile and openly wondered why the government should consider aiding Chileans in California when most of their contracts guaranteed return passage. Most of them, he noted, were artisans or industrial workers, and their departure had created a labor shortage in Chile.

At the same time, the *Mercurio* of Valparaíso was publishing articles about California taken from the *Alta California* and the stories of those who had been there. One story announced that California had ordered all South Americans to get out of California within ten days.

Although Chile was fearful to follow Peru's decision to send a frigate to California because sailors might desert to the gold mines, Congress finally did appropriate 40,000 pesos to protect and return Chilean emigrants, if necessary. Congress also discussed their merchant marine. California emigration had pulled all boats into that shipping and two-thirds of the fleet was now on California shores due to desertions. (This, of course, forced the opening of *cabotage* to all flags.) The government, however, chose not to dispatch a frigate, as Peru had, but, instead, the Chileans accepted a British offer to lend aid to Chileans in California.⁶ The Chilean government debated the merits of chartering a vessel to bring back all Chileans who so desired but did not have sufficient funds to pay their passage. Finally, Señor Infante suggested that a consular agent for California be appointed.

Meanwhile, Carvalho in Washington was anxious about his consul appointee, Cueto. In January, 1850, he had received no acceptance or acknowledgment from Cueto. Then, in February, Carvalho received notice from the ministry that it had appointed Chile-born Samuel Price as consul in California, and, further, it asked the Chilean chargé d'affaires to request an exequatur from the United States government for him. Carvalho complained that it was inopportune to make such a request so soon after he had made and received an exequatur for Cueto, but he did as requested and transmitted an exequatur to Price in March.

To put the Chilean concern with California in proper perspective, it is important to emphasize that, in 1848, Chile was the leading trading nation of the entire Pacific, and the American conquest of California was an obvious threat to this supremacy. Yet there were blessings, as Chile recognized, to increased trade with California. The first news of the discovery of gold in California arrived in Chile on August 19, 1848, when the Chilean vessel *Juan Ramón Sánchez* weighed anchor in Valparaíso, but it excited little comment. Chileans familiar with methods of extracting precious metals had known gold excitements before. Furthermore, they were preoccupied with border problems with their neighbors, Peru and Argentina, and with the recent-arriving news of the French Revolution of 1848. But with the arrival in Valparaíso on September 12 of the *Adelaida*, which

carried \$2500 in gold dust, gold fever swept the country. Other interests were forgotten; the rush was on. Ships carried Chilenos, rich and poor, *inquilinos*, *rotos*, artisans, and professionals to the North. By 1852, Chile was feeding California.

The mining season of 1848 was a good one. A few made fortunes; some plowed money back into greater farm production in Chile for the booming food trade with California. Others built magnificent homes; some invested in California. A flour bonanza came and went. An American resident of Valparaíso traveled to California with his Chilean wife and bought the entire town of Bodega. Frank Lecouvreur reported in 1851 that San Francisco had some rich and respected Chilean firms. The proprietors of the new City of Washington near Benicia began to promote the sale of lots in the planned city. They advertised widely in Chile, publishing the plan of the town's streets and lots which included a public square, hospital, school, and gardens. Lots selling in San Francisco and Valparaíso for \$100 were quoted as being worth between \$8000 and \$10,000 within a year.

Poor Chileans traveled to California in even larger numbers than the well-off. During 1848 and part of 1849 when some form of passport had been required, over 3000 had been acquired, and the names of passengers leaving Valparaíso for California were usually published in the *Mercurio* of Valparaíso. Between August 13, 1848, and June 25, 1849, some forty-nine Chilean vessels carrying some 1778 passengers sailed from Valparaíso, and in the next month, four more left with seventy-two passengers. Between December 1, 1848, and December 1, 1849, 303 vessels had left Valparaíso for California, of which fifty-three were Chilean, and between January 1 and June 30, some 15,000 more gold-seekers had arrived in California, of whom about 2000 were Chileans. Seven more Chilean vessels arrived in San Francisco between May 1 and June 29, 1850. Many Chilean immigrants were traders and keepers of eating houses; other Chileans and Mexicans were brickmakers. Some were confirmed gamblers; some were criminals. The prostitutes of Santiago came to occupy a special place in San Francisco life. In fact, Vicente Rosales, one of the earliest Chilean visitors of note, had protected a notorious Santiago prostitute from the Valparaíso police and boarded her on the ship upon which he had embarked for California. There were, as well, women of good families and reputation who came to live in Chile Town.

When in December, 1851, a revolution shook Chile, 480 Chileans fled in the first sixteen days of that month. In fact, during the three months of instability which followed, more than 1200 emigrants left Valparaíso, and during the first thirty-seven days of 1852, more than 300 alone joined them in California.

This instability, coupled with increased emigration, diminished the labor population in Chile by no less than 2000, and, together with the equal number pressed into the armed forces to keep order, it created a serious shortage of agricultural workers in the area from Copiapó to Coquimbo. Moreover, agents actively sought emigrants, capitalizing on the Chileans' low wages and general poverty. In addition, some ship captains lacking crews offered free passage or transportation at a small cost which the emigrant could pay later in California. Other captains attracted passengers by means of circulars and advertisements replete with exaggerated propaganda and promises.

Once in the California mines, the Chileans performed well. Yankees and Anglos occasionally took apprenticeships under them and then went off on their

own. The Chileans and Mexicans were patient, careful miners skilled in washing gold-bearing soils. In fact, they developed the "dry washing" technique. Some, of course, like the tenor of the Valparaíso theater, were ill-suited to the task. More often the numerically superior Americans, after learning the fine points from Chileans and Mexicans, drove them off their claims. The Chileans did not assimilate and did not follow the Anglo majority; their individualism was evident. Observer William McCollum tells us that the Chileans were generally disliked by the Americans, but "so far as I saw them, they were quiet and inoffensive." Indeed, their ignorance of the language and the ingrate laws and decrees made it difficult for them to prosper.

Yankees, however, refused to recognize any real distinctions between Latin Americans. Whether from California, Chile, Peru, or Mexico, whether residents of twenty-years standing or immigrants of one week, all Spanish-speaking people were lumped together as interlopers and greasers. In April, 1849, vigilantes at Sutter's Mill drove away masses of Chileans, Mexicans, and Peruvians, and on July 4, a similar event occurred along the Sacramento. More than a thousand Chileans poured into San Francisco with the Hounds in pursuit. Although the danger to Chileans in the northern mines began to decline, very few returned to work claims after these affairs.

Such was not the case in the southern mines where Chileans were far more numerous. Although the earliest discoveries had been made there by the Americans in 1848, by 1849 there were many foreigners, especially Latin Americans, who gathered there for safety's sake after the first outbreaks of violence against them. Los Muertos near Angel's Camp on the Arroyo de los Muertos was populated by Mexicans and Chileans. (At one time it was considered unsafe for any persons other than Mexicans and Chileans.) Lower Ranchería, two miles east of Dry Town, settled in 1848, was populated largely by Mexicans and Chileans and was known as a resort for criminals. A most famous case of racial animosity, the Chile War of 1849, occurred in Calaveras County where gold was found in quartz and where Latin Americans knew how to extract the ore using the *arrastre* and the "Chilean Mill" refinement of the *arrastre*.

Americans usually worked individual claims, and early miners' laws in camps favored such claims. But quite often Latin Americans worked in a sort of corporate venture. In the spring of 1849 a number of mining companies from Chile, Mexico, Peru, and other places appeared near Sonora with groups of *peones* to do the heavy work. They took out claims in the names of their *peones*, which the Americans considered illegal. Former governor Persifor Smith had said long before that only Americans could work and own the mines. Governors Riley and Mason knew that they could not control the situation, the former saying that the only possible government for mining camps was the local government, already established in a majority of the camps, which consisted of an *alcalde* who acted as recorder of claims, an arbitrator in disputes, and a committee of miners to judge crimes. The Yankees insisted that no slaves be allowed, and disallowed claims of slaves—or *peones*.

In the southern mines, the French and Latin Americans outnumbered the Yankees. Nevertheless, a mass meeting of Yankees gathered on the Tuolumne in July, 1849, and drew up a proclamation demanding withdrawal of companies of

foreign miners and notifying them to get out by July 9, or face removal by force. Both sides established separate camps.

The Chileans, however, were men of spirit. Dr. Concha of Chile Gulch, near Mokelumne Hill, determined to continue his operation and said he would drive off any interlopers from territory which he considered his own.

When in December, 1849, a group of miners from Iowa Hill moved into his territory (a "dry-blowing" ground), elected a judge and a military captain, and demanded that he and other foreigners leave within fifteen days, Dr. Concha acted. Realizing that he could get no aid from the local authorities (Judge Collier was a notorious enemy of foreign miners), Dr. Concha went to Stockton where he obtained a writ of eviction from Judge Reynolds who empowered him to serve the writ. Returning to Chile Gulch, Dr. Concha armed his countrymen and led them against the Iowa settlement. The result was the Chilean War which was wildly reported in the *Alta California*, although the American James J. Ayers—who was involved and wrote about it much later—blamed the Americans for bringing on the incident by their own warlike actions.

It was not much of a war, actually. Dr. Concha and a force of eighty foreigners (Ayers said sixty, the *Alta* first said two hundred) moved against the Iowa miners, killing three (Ayers said two) and capturing sixteen. The prisoners were marched towards Stockton. Ayers, who was one of the captives, tells us that Dr. Concha tried twice to get the local alcalde to take the prisoners off his hands but the alcalde refused. According to Ayers, on the march towards Stockton the Chileans debated killing the prisoners, but desisted, and during the night the Americans slipped their bonds and grabbed the Chileans and their weapons. Afterwards, the Iowa miners went to Stockton and succeeded in rousing the people against Judge Reynolds, who barely escaped with his life. Dr. Concha, who had not been captured, was killed a few nights later in fandango hall in San Francisco. A miners' court tried the Chileans and sentenced two to death and four or five others to "50 to 100 lashes." Two of those whipped also had their ears cut off, and all were driven out of the mines.

A number of other such outrageous incidents and clashes, including a pitched battle between Chileans and Yankees, occurred in the southern mining area. In addition, in 1850 the opponents of foreign miners successfully conducted a legislative campaign for passage of a \$20-per-month tax on foreign miners. Organized opposition to that measure occurred in many places, especially at Sonora where a large number of Mexicans, Frenchmen, and Chilenos worked the mines. (Some 3000 memorialized the governor.) Many of these events were unsuccessfully appealed to the consuls in San Francisco.

Life was difficult for Chileans in California. Working in cold, wet conditions, they frequently fell ill. They became victims of malaria and other fevers and commonly contracted some form of diarrhea. In addition, they could not assimilate. They wanted to live as Chileans in California, but did not know the language or North American judicial ways.

While many Chileans died or returned to Chile, some did stay in the new home. In Marin County farmers settled Chilean Valley near the head of Tomales Bay. Manuel and Leandro Luco established the first charity hospital in Sacramento. Marysville owes its foundation to the initiative of a Chilean. The first

draught vessel that dared penetrate to Sacramento was the Chilean vessel, *Natalia*, owned by the Luco brothers. Chileans also engaged in wild speculation, selling shares in a city called Washington to duped countrymen still in Chile.

Meanwhile, the Chilean newspapers were filled with news from and about California. Many Chileans opined that very few Chilean emigrants ever got rich; some made money and paid for more Chileans to emigrate, but many returned to Chile. While the government of Chile had a liberal consul in California, Chileans unable to leave California warned, he had no resources to pay for return passage. Theatrical plays were even written to discourage Chileans from going to the place. "*Ya no voy á California.*" Although government officials joined the attempts to dissuade emigration, the warnings fell on deaf ears.

Equally ineffective and confused was the Chilean consulate's position in California. Chile's delay in establishing such a post⁷ had finally prompted the Chilean chargé d'affaires, Carvalho, to appoint Pedro Cueto, as noted above. In California, however, there was considerable popular support for Samuel Price, a fat, jovial, industrious man of the people who had been helpful to newly arrived Chileans and who also had won the esteem of the Yankees. The situation became almost comical when, shortly after and independent of Carvalho's appointment of Cueto, the Chilean minister of foreign affairs named Samuel Price as consul. Price—a successful businessman who usually wore rolled-up pants and a coat and shoes covered with clay—had been recommended by Rosales and others.

There were good reasons for Price's appointment. He was Chilean-born, he knew Spanish and English, and he was known for his intelligence and generous aid to Chileans in California. Cueto enjoyed a better reputation for *honradez* and circumspection than Price, but it was felt that "without doing injustice to Cueto it can be said that Price had considerable advantage in the circumstances above enumerated." Hence, Minister J. J. Perez asked Carvalho to inform the United States government that it had revoked the appointment of Cueto. Perez also advised that if Price, who had not solicited the appointment, did not accept, Cueto's appointment would be made effective. To Cueto in California, the minister wrote that in case Price refused, he should function and keep the ministry informed of further outrages against the Chileans. "The United States," he noted, "very eagerly claims indemnities for its citizens who suffer minor injustices and outrages and even at times without this motive." The minister even authorized Cueto to give sick and indigent Chileans return passage—up to 1500 or 2000 pesos—but not Chileans who brought about their cases because of bad conduct. As well, he wrote, "All to whom you make grants must sign and promise partial repayment."

Subsequently, Price turned down the appointment.⁸ The position carried no salary, and Price declined it for that reason, permitting him, also, to avoid embarrassing Cueto. Price affirmed that Cueto was patriotic, had a good attitude, and was capable. Accordingly, the minister then approved Pedro Cueto as consul. Cueto had emigrated from Chile in late 1848 or very early in 1849, to find a "future" that did not exist in Chile. His subsequent appointment was favorably viewed. The *San Francisco Journal of Commerce*, commenting on January 28, 1850, said that he was a gentleman and that the government could not confide in a person "*mas digna*" than he.

Appointed by Carvalho on August 16, 1849, Cueto received his delayed commission on January 15, 1850, and immediately entered upon his difficult and frustrating duties. In his early dispatches, he spoke frequently of the sick and indigent Chileans who wanted to return home. "Please, Señor Minister, consider the matter and manner or methods to relieve them of their misfortunes," he wrote. In reply the minister told him to use the funds from the 40,000 pesos appropriated for that purpose.⁹ Cueto's dispatches were often detailed and seldom happy. His observations ranged from the problems of deserted Chilean vessels to numerous calamities such as fires in San Francisco and floods in Sacramento in which Chileans—especially Price and company, Domingo Guzman, and Cueto's own company—lost heavily. He also supervised the return of twenty-three Chileans aboard HMBS *Driver*.

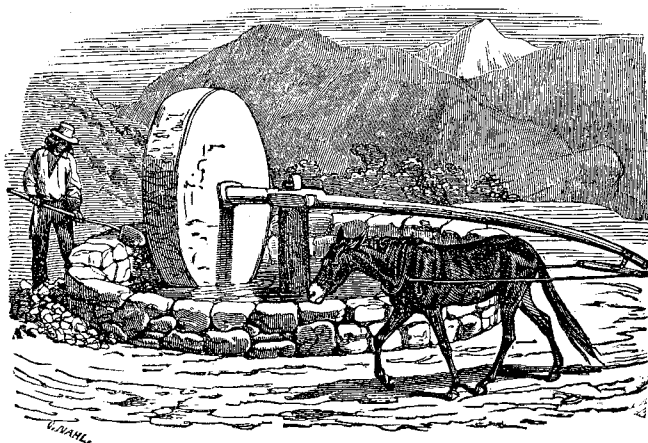
Unsalaries, Cueto had to continue to make a livelihood, and his business suffered. Then, in his dispatch No. 6, dated May 30, 1850, he informed the minister that he had to leave the country. Knowing that the minister had initially appointed Samuel Price, Cueto therefore officially requested Price to take charge of the consulate.

Better judgment to the contrary, Price assumed the onerous position only because of a deep sense of duty to the beleaguered Chileans in California—because, he wrote, "the interests of Chile and Chileans in California would not be taken care of." In financial straits because of serious losses stemming from the San Francisco fires, he begged the Chilean minister to relieve him as soon as possible of the consulate duties which demanded time and expenses.

Price was an astute observer, and he conscientiously assumed his varied duties. He reported accurately the small disturbances in San Francisco, as well as the frequent assaults, murders, and other crimes in the mines to the south. "It is too bad," Price wrote, "that so many Chileans get sick without money or resources to return to Chile," and he asked that Chile provide some funds or measures to help them. In addition, he noted, despite the demand for Chilean exports, especially wheat, Chilean vessels were charged higher duties than other nations' vessels because of the expiration of the United States-Chile treaty on January 19 (but not enforced until June 15, 1850).

In a dispatch, Price reported at length on some fundamental problems. "California society is entirely under the *imperio* of brute force," he wrote at one point.

Chilean gold-seekers, frequently skilled miners (and, thus, resented by inept Yankee novices), brought the Chile mill to California. When gold could no longer be found in free form, the mill, improved in design, became invaluable for mining gold from quartz leads.



"Day by day I painfully see dissipated the illusion that richness of the country had produced among us, inspiring false hopes to so many Chilean foreign artisans, who with very few exceptions have been bitterly frustrated and who, employed in Chile with equal economy and labor might have obtained results no less flattering than those that were promised them."

From a dispatch of August 14, 1850, it is evident that Price was convinced that Chilean persons and property were in grave danger. The legal and law enforcement authorities were venal and corrupt in San Francisco and worse in the mines where no authority existed upon which Chileans could rely. Judges there were appointed by *capricho* of Americans, perhaps, criminals, to support their own views. They were neither accountable to superiors, nor had they power of enforcement. No legal authority operated before whom a foreign government could make a claim. The United States military had surrendered its authority, and California was not yet a state. Californians had framed their own constitution, and because the United States government had not recognized California as a state, it would not be responsible for proceedings of an incompetent authority. The result was chaos. Price warned Chileans not to be drawn to California since everyone there wanted to get rich quick without care for legality of the means used, although he recognized that Chileans sometimes survived because of their competence in commerce and the courage with which they repelled aggression. The Americans, Price reported, believed that South Americans were Indians, "zambos," or Negroes and, therefore, unworthy of a social position equal to their own.

The demands on Price were awesome. In addition to attempts to protect the lives and property of Chileans, he sometimes found it necessary to dip into his own pocket to pay hospital bills and burial expenses. "If I do not leave the consulate soon my business will go to ruin," he complained, and, indeed, his business interest in Sacramento suffered because he had to remain in San Francisco to dispatch vessels which could not move in his absence. "PLEASE RELIEVE ME OF THE CONSULAR DUTIES," he pleaded.

The Chilean foreign office seemed insensitive to his financial problems as well as those of other potential consuls. At one point the office suggested appointment of consuls in Monterey and San Diego, which Price rejected because of the absence of Chileans there. Stockton and Sacramento, however, needed consuls, but no Chileans wanted the position for reasons "such as I give for myself," said Price. In October, however, Price transmitted news of the admission of California into the Union which, reported Price, would make it easier for the consulate to do its work.

Throughout his career as consul, Price continually pleaded for his relief so he could pay attention to his business. For a time he had been aided by Chileans in the interior, but now they, too, had left for Chile. When the winter of 1850-51 set in, public works stopped, and there was more unemployment among city-dwelling Chileans, more robberies, assaults, some assassinations, and rain. Many Chileans asked help from Consul Price. He was able to get work for some, and some returned to Chile at government expense.

Not totally unresponsive, the foreign minister acknowledged Price's good work and attempted to meet some of the problems. For example, Chile began to

require captains of vessels returning from California to take on board some of the unfortunate Chileans. This measure, however, met with scant success. More than once the Chilean government expressed its appreciation to Price for his efforts in personally taking the responsibility for returning luckless Chileans.

Even the consular succession from Cueto to Price was fraught with confusion. The problems involved the furniture, supplies, books, and seal of the consulate which, it had been agreed earlier, would be supplied to the incumbent by the embassy in Washington because of the difficulty and high price of obtaining them in California. Eventually, the Chilean government authorized Carvalho in Washington to send Price the necessities for carrying on his duties, noting in passing that "Price is another person very difficult to replace because of his intelligence, honesty, his love for Chile, and especially on account of the circumstance *de no militar contra ól la animosidad excandaloso que existe en California contra los sur-Americanos* and especially against the sons of Chile." Meanwhile, the government, though slow to act, was considering some modest *retribución* which might stimulate Price to continue, because he had already manifested his inclination to retire or withdraw from the consulate.

Price's repeated threats to resign had their effect. Congress finally passed a project of law empowering the government to assign salaries "to Consuls such as you [Price] who have too many onerous duties." The government also empowered Price to spend more money for the return passages of sick and indigent Chileans, although the amounts authorized fell short of the need.

When Price received news that the Chilean Congress had projected a law which would make salaries available to consuls, he responded immediately and positively. If the government, he wrote, would pay the necessary consulate expenses—for an office clerk, for necessary consultations with expensive lawyers, for burials and other expenses—"then I am disposed to give all my knowledge and experience to the job, and will devote all my time to the consulate, to the benefit of my country." In addition he reported that there were other Chileans living in California, some of fortune, who, he believed, had "the aptitude necessary to fulfill consular duties." Among others he named Buenaventura Sánchez and Rafael Orrego, both well known and having sufficient "*recursos y luces*."

Price himself had suffered severe losses in the many San Francisco fires, and his bitter pleas to Chile for funds were justified. "Most of the Chileans here are from the class inferior of the population of Chile; they do not speak English and are looked upon with suspicion by the Americans. They cannot do anything for themselves under present conditions; they come to the consulate and I cannot deny them assistance." At first Price appealed for contributions from Chilean merchants, but, he reported, "there are not more than four of them here and I stopped molesting them." Undoubtedly, too, he was frustrated that the French and English consuls were furnished funds for aiding their unfortunate compatriots.

Although Price threw himself wholeheartedly into the duties of his office, he could accomplish little in the way of aiding his Chilean countrymen. And his optimism soon gave way to pessimism as his projected or promised salary never materialized. Finally, on October 15, 1851, he informed the foreign minister of his intention to resign and leave for Valparaíso at month's end. He was appointing Guillermo Murray to fill the duties of consul of Chile "until Your Excellency

A quasi-military organization of ruffians known as the "Hounds" attacked Chileans living in San Francisco's Little Chile after forcing many of them to give up gold-seeking in the northern mines.



appoints a successor." "Murray," said Price, "is very recommendable, honest, loves Chile, and is intelligent and will be as good as I in the job." He also told the minister that he would report to him personally in Chile. Leaving on November 3 on the Swedish brigantine *Clara* for Valparaíso, he reached Chile in January. From Santiago he wrote to the minister on January 29, 1852, enclosing the financial account of his tenure as consul in San Francisco. His expenses included payments to the police, lawyers, and hospitals and funds expended for newspaper advertisements, apprehension of deserters, passage, and office rent. "You will see the costs to me which is the reason for my presenting my resignation," he concluded.

Price's successor, William Murray of Edinburgh, Scotland (where he was a member of the botanical society), emigrated to California from South America about 1850. He was left provisionally in charge of the Chilean consulate in November, 1851, and was officially confirmed on May 1, 1852. It was during his tenure that difficulties in the southern mines occurred. In the midst of these troubles, Murray had to leave for Europe, absenting his office from November 1, 1852, to the end of March, 1853. To fill the consulate post, he appointed Felipe Fierro who took charge *ad interim* on October 19, 1852. The Chilean foreign minister appointed Francisco Salvador Alvarez in November, but Alvarez, too, left for Europe. Fierro thus filled the position as acting consul until January, 1854, when Alvarez returned. During the interval Fierro, not a Chilean, did a remarkable job of reporting and attempting to aid Chileans. Yet, certainly, part of the Chilean consulate problem was the constant turnover of consuls.

As already noted, American hostility to Chileans and other foreigners in the mines was such that as early as August 14, 1850, the *San Francisco Picayune* reported "from 15 to 20,000 Mexicans, and perhaps an equal number of Chilenos are now leaving or preparing to leave for their own country." The numbers were

undoubtedly exaggerated, and the *Picayune* erred, too, in assuming that most, if not all, were returning to Chile. In fact, many Chileans were flooding into already overcrowded San Francisco where the Americans had responded by passing laws prohibiting aliens to engage in draying, driving hackney coaches, and many other jobs.

When a Chilean wrote from Mokelumne Hill to Price (whom he thought was still Chilean consul) on September 18, 1852, of the injustices to the Chileans in the mining region, Consul Murray wrote to the Chilean government, as had all his successors, that lacking money, he could not travel to the mining region to investigate the recent outrages. In a new twist to the consul's difficulties, when the California supreme court upheld the law imposing a \$20 per month tax on foreign miners, many Chileans and others refused to pay this large sum, offering instead to pay a much lower amount. This decision led to increased hostilities and, indeed, a near-war in Sonora where the Chileans, frequently allied with Mexicans and French, joined forces as indicated in the following posted notice: "Note to foreigners: It is time to unite, Frenchmen, Chileans, Peruvians, Mexicans, there is the highest necessity for putting an end to the vexations caused by the Americans in California."

Interestingly, the forced exodus of foreign miners from the southern mines caused a loss of business to merchant suppliers of Stockton and Sonora who then held protest meetings, sent a memorial to Governor Burnett, and raised money to fight the foreign miners' tax law in the courts. These efforts, however, proved as fruitless as consular protests, and only a few Chileans remained in the mines where they had established their own communities. The Yankee war to exclude foreigners from sharing the all too fleeting wealth of the California lode was ended.

Clearly, most of the early Chileans who rushed to the glitter of California gold failed to secure a piece of El Dorado. The Chilean government's unwillingness to pay adequate consular salaries added to their disillusionment. While the government permitted consuls to receive fees for services, the need for aid to poverty-stricken and ill Chileans overwhelmed their moderate incomes. Attempting to compensate for the lack of funds by permitting the consuls to engage in business accounted in part for the great turnover in office and the frequent absences from California.¹⁰ Finally, much later when Chile's economic importance to California as a supplier of provisions declined, the importance of the consulate in San Francisco did likewise. Moreover, when law returned to California and the chaos of the gold rush became history, the pressure on the consulate became less intense. Yet Chile had made its mark in California, as had many Chilenos. When western history is written, let us acknowledge the Chilean contributions to the opening of the West.

THE LITHOGRAPHS on pages 54 and 65 are from *Hutchings' California Magazine*, 1:387 (March, 1857) and 2:153 (October, 1857). The Hounds illustration is from *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 21 (new series): 553 (February, 1892). The sketches on pages 57 and 58 are reproduced from Vicente Pérez Rosales, *Diario de un Viaje a California* (Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1971).

NOTES

This paper was read as a presidential address before the International History Honor Society, Phi Alpha Theta, in New Orleans, December, 1971. It is based upon material in Chile's Archivo Nacional, located in the Biblioteca Nacional in Santiago. The principal sources were the diplomatic and consular correspondence found in the Relaciones Exteriores series. While Fulbright professor at the National University of Chile in Santiago, I studied Chileans in California and calendared the correspondence of the Chilean consuls. In preparation is a fuller account and a calendar of the materials in the Archivo Nacional relating to California. This calendar will include additional series and materials from other archives and libraries in Santiago.

1. Among the society's elected officers were C. R. Lee, president; J. C. Pullis, steward; and Samuel Roberts, chief rioter and master of military. The Hounds collected an initiation fee of ten dollars.

2. Municipal authorities were powerless to stop the Hounds' outrages and, indeed, the alcalde was suspected of being in league with them. Colonel Mason and his few soldiers made no attempts to stop the Hounds.

3. Because no municipal or state courts were then in existence, a jury of twenty-four was selected which indicted twenty offenders and put them on trial. The jury found them guilty of conspiracy, riot, robbery, and assault with intent to kill. Sam Roberts, arrested on his way to Stockton, and five other leaders were given long prison sentences.

4. On July 28, Carvalho had written Chile of the need for appointing a consul, but since he "did not know anyone capable to fill the job," he deferred appointing one.

5. The Chileños worked and earned enough to eat, according to information received by Vallejo, but because of their ineptitude or bad health they could stand the inconveniences they had to suffer.

6. Some members of the Chilean Congress were adamant that Chile should not depend on foreigners, but should themselves bring back their capable and industrious nationals who wanted to return to Chile but lacked the necessary funds.

7. Despite suggestions to the Chilean government of the importance of establishing a consulate in California, the foreign office wrote to Carvalho on June 28, 1849, that they recognized the need for a consul in California, "but thus far no person capable of exercising the duties of a Consul has presented himself to us" and "that as soon as persons may apply they will be appointed." The foreign office, however, did authorize Carvalho to appoint consular agents.

8. On the same day that Cucto finally received his appointment and exequatur from Carvalho in Washington, Samuel Price received the letter from the Chilean minister of foreign affairs appointing him consul in San Francisco. The letter had been dated October 20, 1849, but on November 17, before receiving it, Price had left for the Sandwich Islands, and not until his return to San Francisco on January 15, 1850, did he receive the letter of appointment. Price replied to the foreign minister on February 15, but since he could not afford to assume the post unless a good salary accompanied it, he declined the offer.

9. On August 18, 1849, Foreign Minister J. J. Perez wrote to Rear Admiral P. Hornby, Chief of Her Majesty's Pacific Squadron, asking him to aid and protect and grant passage to Valparaíso to distressed Chileans in California. Chile, he wrote, would pay. Hornby replied that the HMS *Inconstant* was leaving for California and carried such orders. When the *Inconstant* arrived in California and issued an invitation to Chileans who were sick or poverty-stricken, only six individuals took advantage of the offer. A larger number, some very ill, had returned to Chile on other vessels. On November 1, 1849, for instance, the Chilean frigate *General Freire* arrived in Chile from San Francisco with seventy passengers. The HMS *Driver* returned twenty-three to Chile.

10. Just after the revolution in Chile in 1849 the consular service of Chile was reorganized. A new law outlined the forms and types of assistance which consuls were empowered to give Chilean subjects. The duties, tributes, and immunities, as well as the rights of Chilean consuls, were set down in regular form. Fees for services and emoluments which would be collected by consuls were specified. Yet, for a long period, the office of Chilean consul remained without assigned salary, and not until early in the 1880's did Chile raise the status of the post to consulate general.

Their Pride, Their Manners, and Their Voices: Sources of the Traditional Portrait of the Early Californians

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 on Hubert Howe Bancroft, *A Venture in History*

THE TRADITION OF THE GRACIOUS, LEISURELY LIFE of the early Californians has attracted many authors who have added to the tradition with works of their creative imagination. They have given us a picture of a carefree, gallant, finely dressed people who lived rather more nobly than the present occupants of the state. The men they depicted were ruled by honor and, though sometimes cruel, were graceful and courtly in manner. The women, whether spirited or gentle, were virtuous and beautiful. Over men and women alike rested the benevolent tyranny of the Church, visibly represented by the adobe missions and the crucifixes and other symbols with which the Californians surrounded themselves.

Much of this tradition has foundation in the reports of Americans on the California scene before 1849, which, though having their own biases, are relatively free from the sentimentalizing of later fiction and belles-lettres. There is in most of these reports a justification for the American action in taking California from Mexico—even in the early accounts in which such action is not foreseen. There are brief histories of petty tyrants in government and out of it and of comic-opera wars. Descriptions of dirty houses, dirty and gaudy clothes, and dirty, naked Indians may be found in all narratives; vermin and viciousness, greed and grease abound; yet the seed for such works as Gertrude Atherton's *The Splendid, Idle Forties* and Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* is there.

Four works, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, Two Years Before the Mast* by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Life in California* by Alfred Robinson, and *What I Saw in California* by Edwin Bryant, were particularly popular with eastern audiences of the period, and an examination of them shows what part they played in launching the California tradition and the general climate of observation in which the favorable words stand out. This tradition could not, of course, have grown without the pathetic appeal which the vanquished has for the victor, but neither could it have been completely fabricated. In these accounts appear the

honorable, courteous gentlemen and the kind, virtuous women that formed the sentimental prototype, as well as the louts and the hussies which ceased to be represented as typical Californians in the later works. The narratives are all autobiographical and were submitted for publication by their authors; therefore, they are all conscious literary efforts, creative in some measure. They have become source material for writers of imaginative works as well as historians. Despite their provincialism, biases, and, in Pattie's case, self-aggrandizing falsehoods, they are eyewitness accounts, and all were published within a short time of the events they describe.¹

The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie was ghost-written for the young mountain man by Timothy Flint, the editor of the *Western Monthly Review*. Flint was a Harvard graduate and an advocate of the West as a place where the individual could achieve his best self, free of institutions. Pattie had appeared at the office of the *Review* in 1830, told his story of extensive travels with his father in the West as a mountain man, and so caught Flint's imagination as to put him to work on the book at once (introduction, v-vi). It was published in 1831.

The book is a tall story in which the words of narrator and ghost writer are almost inextricably blended. It is easier to say of a euphemistic passage that this must be Flint's than to identify any passage as Pattie's. Certain parts of the story have been checked, however, and H. H. Bancroft established from Mexican records that the Patties reached California and were jailed in San Diego (introduction, viii-ix). The tyrannical character of General Echeandía which makes Pattie's account of the unprovoked occasion of that imprisonment credible is confirmed by Alfred Robinson's statements about the general.

According to the *Narrative*, the military governor of California, General Echeandía, whom Pattie calls Echedio, received the Patties and their companions in San Diego after they had been brought as prisoners from a lower California mission. He then tore up their passports with a "sinister and malicious" smile, accused them of being Spanish spies, and dispatched them to prison cells, separating father and son (pp. 158-59). Pattie was not permitted to visit his father in his last illness, and he attended the funeral only through the intercession of a "noble minded and kind hearted young lady," a sister of a sergeant of the guards, who had taken pity on Pattie during his imprisonment and endeared herself to him by "undeviating kindness" in securing him food and clothing (pp. 163-168).

After some months in jail, Pattie secured his freedom by expansively promising

1. Quotations and paraphrases have been identified by page number only in the text, or by author and page number when the work cited is not obvious. Citations are taken from the following editions:

Pattie, James Ohio. *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*. The 1831 Edition, Unabridged. Introduction by William O. Goetzmann. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, c. 1962. 269 pp.)

Dana Jr., Richard Henry. *Two Years Before the Mast*. Introduction by Mark Van Doren. (New York: Bantam Books, c. 1959. 334 pp.)

Robinson, Alfred. *Life in California*. Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. (Oakland: Biobooks, 1947. 147 pp.)

Bryant, Edwin. *What I Saw in California; Being the journal of a tour by the emigrant route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, across the continent of North America, the great desert basin, and through California, in the years 1846, 1847*. (Santa Ana, Ca.: Fine Arts Press, 1936. 481 pp.)

to vaccinate all the Spaniards and Indians in California against smallpox (p. 193–201). After having vaccinated 22,000, with no reward unless he turn Catholic, Pattie found time to lead in the suppression of a small revolution and capture its leader, General Solís. (Pattie had learned Solís planned to expropriate American-held lands and force Americans out of the country unless they joined the Church.) For this service to General Echeandía, Pattie received a passport to Mexico and left California by sail to seek redress from the Mexican government for his wrongful treatment (pp. 204–17).

Robinson, who was in California at the time, mentions no smallpox scare, nor does he say in the paragraphs he devotes to the Solís uprising (Robinson, p. 44–45) anything about the involvement of Americans on either side. How Pattie really got out of jail is not of concern here. His attitudes toward the Californians are.

Pattie's estimate of the Californians was as bitter as could be expected from his experience in prison and his strongly Protestant background. Of the people he says: "The cowardly and worthless are naturally cruel" (p. 151). "I have no faith in the courage of these people, except they have greatly the advantage or can kill in the dark, without danger to themselves. This in my view is the amount of a Spaniard's bravery" (p. 184). Of the priests, on the occasion of a visit to a prospering mission with large herds, orchards, and vineyards, he remarks sardonically: "These wise and holy men mean to make sure of the rich and pleasant things of the earth as well as those of heaven" (p. 155). Of Californians in general, he observes at the close of a eulogy on the beauty and fertility of their land: "Its inhabitants are equally calculated to excite dislike, and even the stronger feelings of disgust and hatred. The priests are omnipotent and all things are subject to their power" (p. 216).

However, even in the jailed Pattie's worm's eye view of California culture, there is a softer note. Whether or not the sergeant's gentle-hearted sister was a real person, her virtue, piety, sympathy, and beauty fit into what was to become a stereotype of California womanhood. The venal soldiers and officers would become, in the tradition, merely lazy and good natured; the efficient, autocratic priests would be transformed into benevolent, lovable father figures; but the women needed no further softening. Pattie had created the image.

Pattie's image of the California lady was contradicted by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., in *Two Years Before the Mast*, but this popular and excellent work, published in 1840, added new elements to the California tradition. Dana's images were forceful because they were the observations and reflections of a cultivated man, who was determined to be as objective in recording his impressions as he could be.

Dana, a Harvard undergraduate from a leading Boston family who signed on a California-bound trading ship when he was forced to interrupt his studies by a temporary eye affliction (introduction, p. vii), first saw the Californians in Monterey in 1835. His impressions were not favorable.

"The Californians are an idle, thriftless people and can make nothing for themselves," he reports. He then enlarges upon this theme, telling of their raising good grapes and buying bad Boston wine, exporting hides and importing shoes (p. 59). These people, indeed, must have seemed alien to a Boston Brahmin to whom the hard work, lack of intellectual companionship, and petty tyranny of shipboard

life were preferable to several months of idleness among family and friends, and who, in his limited leisure, was amassing notes for a book.

In Monterey, Dana observed the caste system based on an individual's amount of Spanish blood (p. 60), and a pageant could be costumed from his precise descriptions of the *gente de razon*. His indictment of the morals and of the fondness of dress of the women is as harsh as if he wore the sober Puritan black.

The fondness for dress among the women is excessive, and is sometimes their ruin. A present of a fine mantle, or of a necklace or pair of earrings gains the favor of the greater part. Nothing is more common than to see a woman living in a house of only two rooms with the ground for a floor, dressed in spangled satin shoes, silk gown, high comb, and gilt, if not gold, earrings and necklace. If their husbands do not dress them well enough, they will soon receive presents from others [p. 61].

This aspersion contradicts Pattie's image sharply and definitely. It may be argued that sailor Dana was seeing a far different type of woman than Brahmin Dana knew at home, but that there were drabs in California, and in numbers, is established. Dana is convincing in this instance, as in others, because of his ability to bring the reader to the scene by meticulous observation of detail and orderly presentation. There is no attempt, as in Pattie, to cut a figure; there is an attempt to see clearly and record accurately. The writing, though it conveys unmistakably the prejudices of its author, is unburdened, insofar as the Californians are concerned, with either grievance or apology. Subjective judgments are presented simply and lucidly and usually in a detached manner. Poetic imagery is so sparingly used that an occasional outburst is particularly compelling.

Next to the love of dress, I was most struck with the fineness of the voices and the beauty of the intonation of both sexes. Every common ruffian-looking fellow, with a slouched hat, blanket coat, dirty under-dress and soiled leather legging, appeared to me to be speaking excellent Spanish. It was a pleasure simply to listen to the sound of the language, before I could attach any meaning to it. . . . A common bullock driver, on horseback, delivering a message, seemed to speak like an ambassador at a royal audience. In fact, they sometimes appeared to me to be a people on whom a curse had fallen, and stripped them of everything but their pride, their manners, and their voices [p. 61].

The last sentence is a concisely stated myth in itself, eloquently and faultlessly



Though often of humble circumstances, Mexican Californians were celebrated as generous and hospitable to the fullest measure, unhesitatingly sharing their meager fare with weary observers of the fleeting California idyl.

expressed. "A people on whom a curse has fallen" invests the Californians with the dignity of tragedy and the excitement of high romance. "Their pride, their manners, and their voices" is a beautifully moving sequence of words which seem set in logical and rhythmic order to display the grace and dignity of those qualities Fate had left them.

Dana, however, does not dwell on any of the implications of his statement, but begins his next paragraph: "Another thing that surprised me was the quantity of silver in circulation." He was consciously concerned with a chronicle, not a poetic work, and his observations continue.

"The men in Monterey appeared to me to be always on horseback. . . . There are probably no better riders in the world" (p. 64). The evaluation in this second sentence by the young man who had never seen the plains Indians, let alone the Cossacks or the Gauchos, but who generally set a low value on the Californians, compels us to believe an impression so powerful as to bring forth this superlative. (Bryant substantiates this opinion [Bryant, p. 434], but his words are so close to Dana's that they appear to be a paraphrase.) Dana writes also that children were placed on horses at four or five years and seemed to grow to them (p. 64), an observation confirmed by Robinson (Robinson, p. 59). Horsemanship, of course, is now part of the tradition and has stepped out of literature into pageantry, so that many festive parades feature miniature *charros* in braided velvet, cradled in enormous saddles.

Toward the end of his stay in California, Dana witnessed a fandango following the wedding of Alfred Robinson—agent for the trading company which owned the ship on which Dana sailed—to a daughter of Don Antonio Noriega, head of one of the first families of the state. The grace of the male dancers together with the spirit and beauty of the women captured his imagination. This is his comment on the dancing of one of the gallants, Don Juan Bandini:

He moved about with the grace and daintiness of a young fawn. An occasional touch of the toe to the ground seemed all that was necessary to give him a long interval of motion in the air. At the same time he was not fantastic or flourishing, but appeared to be rather repressing a strong tendency to motion [p. 191].

Dana praises the beauty of the bride's sister and tells sympathetically how she played a favorite prank of the ladies, breaking an egg filled with cologne on a gentleman's head. He then describes how the ladies danced in hats which the men had dropped over their eyes, throwing them off or not according to their inclinations toward the owners. Dana closed the scene with an uncomplimentary portrait of countryman Robinson "pinned and skewered" into his sober, formal black (p. 193).

Something of this warmth and softening toward the Californians must have been in Dana's mind when he wrote the conclusion to the chapter, "California and its Inhabitants": "In the hands of an enterprising people what a country this might be! we are ready to say. Yet how long would a people remain so, in such a country?" (p. 136). Dana had been disturbed, even though briefly, by the attraction of the cultivated grace and gaiety he had observed. Knowing that the idleness of easy living made these things possible, he visualized Americans softening completely in such a place. If, at other places in the book, his portrait of the Califor-

nians seems harsh, it may be because his repugnance towards idleness was not matched by a repugnance towards some of its fruits, and he could see about him Americans and children of Americans who were little disturbed by this conflict of taste and value and succumbed to the California sickness (*i.e.*, laziness) with no apparent struggle (p. 137).

The doomed Californians were of great interest to the romantically inclined reading public of slightly later date, and authors found Dana a rich original source. If his observations of the land and its harbors were detailed enough to provide a setting for these writers, so were the more complimentary and romantic of his observations on the inhabitants useful to build characters to people the setting. As Dana feared, later generations of American Californians could not so heartily condemn idleness and extravagance as he had, and his accusation of almost universal immorality against the women is dismissed. Cultivations of character such as pride and manners, physical beauty, and accomplishments such as beautiful diction, physical grace, and notable horsemanship remain to augment the California tradition.

In 1828, Alfred Robinson sailed from Boston to California as a representative of Bryant, Sturgis and Co., the trading company on whose ship Dana later sailed. Unlike Dana, Robinson remained to marry and make his home. In 1840, he published *Life in California*, a combination of personal and historical narrative, which, though it is concerned with contradicting some of Dana's harshest judgments such as that on feminine virtue, confirms his verdict on the laziness and improvidence of the Californians.

Robinson states firmly that, "there are few places in the world where . . . can be found more chastity, industrious habits, and correct deportment than among the women of this place." He observes that the virtuous and the immoral mingle freely and familiarly at public gatherings and that this is misleading to strangers, "who form, in consequence, incorrect opinions" (p. 47). So much for Dana!

However: "The men are generally indolent, addicted to many vices, caring little for the welfare of their children, who, like themselves, grow up unworthy members of society" (p. 47). Moreover: "You might as well expect a sloth to leave a tree that has one inch of bark left upon its trunk, as to expect a Californian to labor while a *real* glistens in his pocket!" (p. 89).

Here the Yankee upbringing shows itself again, the same regard for thrift and industry that characterizes his fellow Bostonian's account. Although Robinson did not have Dana's gift for expression, there are striking similarities in the attraction and repulsion which they experienced toward California. Soon after he disembarked in San Diego, Robinson observed a customs house abandoned because it had been built in a poor location and a presidio left half-constructed after it was discovered too difficult to supply with water, and he concluded that the government was not wise or efficient (p. 11). Many months later, after living in California in constant political unrest, he heard rumors that the Hudson's Bay Company, contemplating establishing an agency in San Francisco, was interested in more than trade, and he considered the possibilities of British rule: "The country would prosper under their jurisdiction as it undoubtedly must if it should ever come under our own. Whatever may be its fate, it can never be in worse hands than the present" (p. 125).

Much of *Life in California* concerns the endless political ferment and the coups and revolutions of California political and military life, and, in the center of much of it, is Pattie's enemy, General Echeandía. Robinson confirms Pattie's characterization of Echeandía, although Robinson was received into California by the general with "true Spanish dignity and politeness" (p. 11). Echeandía in power set out to secularize the missions and free the Indians, threatening this vast system with ruin; Echeandía deposed gathered a few followers and continued to entice Indians from the missions. After Echeandía's defeat, Robinson remarks: "What a scourge he has been to California. What an instigator of vice. . . . The seeds of dishonor sown by him will never be extirpated so long as there remains a Mission to rob, or a treasury to plunder" (p. 88).

Yet Robinson himself gives one of the most vivid pictures of the tyranny of the missions over the Indians which we have. Robinson—after detailing the apartments of Mission San Luis Rey and their uses, the full granaries, and the enclosures for carts and farm implements—mentions the guardhouse where a dozen soldiers were stationed and passes on to the 3000 Indians working at the mission.

In the interior of the square might be seen the various trades at work, presenting a scene not dissimilar to some of the working departments of our state prisons. . . . The conditions of these Indians are miserable indeed; and it is not to be wondered at that many attempt to escape from the severity of the religious discipline at the Mission. They are pursued, and generally taken, when they are flogged, and an iron clog is fastened to their legs, serving as added punishment, and a warning to others [p. 17].

When Father Antonio Peyri gave up the direction of Mission San Luis Rey and made ready to leave California, Robinson recounts how "the tear of regret coursed down the cheek of the good old friar as he recalled to mind the once happy state of California." The friar, Robinson believed, foresaw the effects of liberty

A "typical" Mexican-California couple was depicted as a lovely, pious, and gentle señorita strolling with a bespurred and slightly petulant companion—he, apparently, only recently dismounted from his favored horse. Much was made in literature of the day of this subtle competition for the horseman's affections.



and equality among these people who were not prepared for self-government (p. 76), and in his account of the event, Robinson shows deep sympathy with the friar of his viewpoint.

Except for the account of Indian serfdom at Mission San Luis Rey, Robinson appears at all times an apologist for the Church which he joined before his marriage. On its spiritual leaders he wrote:

The friar's knowledge of the world, and his superior education, place him in a sphere to inculcate good or disseminate evil. Fortunately, however, for the country, the original founders of Christianity in California were truly pious excellent men, and their successors, generally have endeavored to sustain their honorable character [p. 47].

The generalities of the passage roll like a catechism and are in striking contrast in import and style to the eyewitness account of the miseries of the mission Indians. It is very different in style also from the pronouncements on male Californians and their government which have been cited above. Robinson was not a gifted writer, but his book does have a fairly straightforward manner of narration. He seems to have been unable to put this lofty sentiment into his own words. However, in this passage, as well as in less strained paragraphs in the book, we meet the Franciscan friar of the mission for the first time in the role of benevolent father to the community, a role which it has pleased tradition to fix for him. The brutality of the missions in the exploitation of their Indian charges plays no part in the legend which surrounds them.

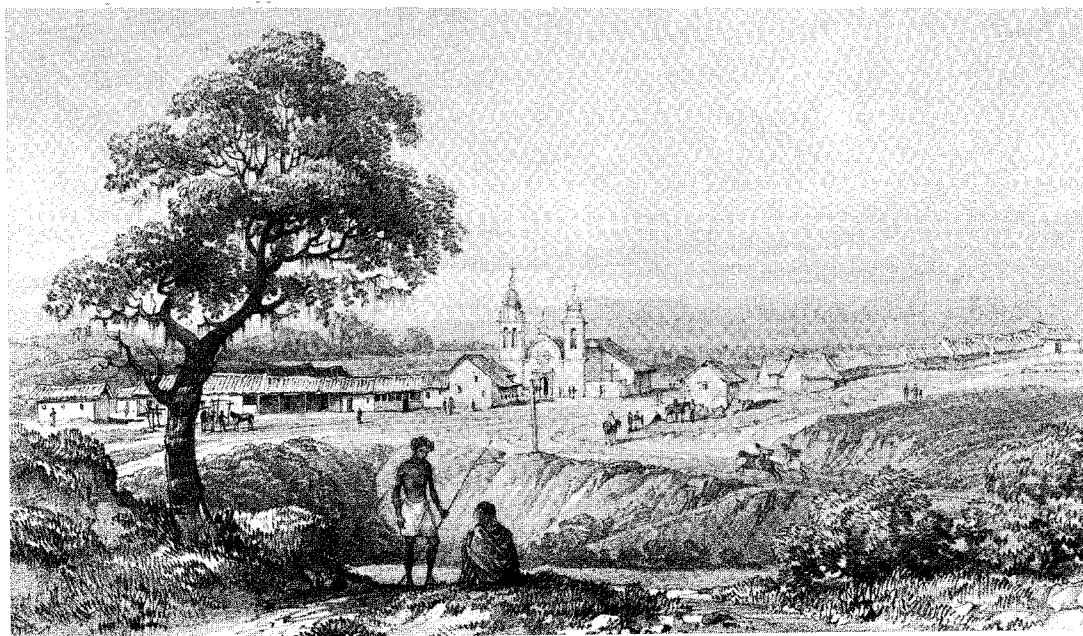
Another important element, apparently closer to the fact, was first added to the tradition in the pages of *Life in California*. Robinson, from his first day on shore, was the recipient of a gracious, warm-hearted hospitality on every hand. The quarters and the fare might vary, but the welcome was the same:

Yet if their walls were cold and their floors damp, their hearts were warm, and the abundance of their luxurious entertainment more than compensated for any disappointment" [p. 11].

Here we partook of chocolate with the lady of the house. . . . The old lady, a fine, motherly, good woman, had acquired by her affectionate manner toward strangers the esteem of all who knew her [p. 28].

The traditional evening dancing party, the fandango, had been described by Dana, but the California picnic, the merienda, is first presented by Robinson. The description of the merienda (pp. 126-27) offers an extremely pleasing pastorate with its covered carts full of gentle-bred revellers, its dinner on a cloth laid out on the grass, and its mock bull fight with a reluctant bull retreating to the middle of a pond.

Bulls did not always fare so well, however, because tying a bull and bear together to gore and tear at other was popular sport (p. 66) (Pattie, p. 214). Another cruel recreation was the cockfight, one of which Dana saw at Santa Barbara (Dana, pp. 103-04), and, of course, many writers had commented on the cruel Spanish spurs. The tradition has had to allow the Californians a cruel streak, so that a picture of an oddly dichotomized society of tender-hearted women and bestial men has sometimes appeared in the Californians created by later writers, and this dichotomy may be inferred from the passages on each sex in *Life in California*.



This bucolic scene of Mission San Carlos and the Bay of Carmel from an early California history published in England reinforced the developing image of California as a land where benevolent friars and child-like natives lived together in Christian harmony.

If Alfred Robinson had not become a Catholic and married into one of California's first families, his portrait of California might have been as close to Dana's in all respects as it is in some. As it stands, his defense of the Church and of California womanhood are couched in his most affected prose. It forms, however, part of a romantic picture that Californians have wanted to see of their past, so it has been accepted into the tradition at face value.

Like the works of Dana and Pattie, Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California* is concerned with much more than California and its inhabitants. Half of the book is devoted to the trek of the emigrant party, including Bryant, which reached the Sacramento Valley at the end of August, 1846, to find northern California in American hands (p. 214). The remainder is an account of Bryant's travels in the state and of his march with General Frémont from San Juan Bautista to Los Angeles. The portion of the book dealing with California is fattened with secondary material in the form of quotations and historical narration, as well as proclamations from the military leaders of the time.

What I Saw in California is pertinent to this study in that it attributes to the Californians, at the very moment that their country was lost to them, the better qualities which earlier works grant them. The dirt of the decayed missions, the treachery of the miserable Indians, and the reluctance of the California troops to fight is mentioned but not editorialized upon. More favorable impressions are treated with greater concern.

Bryant was not received into the homes where Robinson was welcomed, but he found the same open-handed hospitality in humbler settings. He found poor fare occasionally, but he was impressed by the spirit in which it was given.

The foreign occupants of the mission buildings, to whom we applied for accommodations for the night gave us no satisfaction. . . we were at last accommodated by an old



A gallant and romantically garbed vaquero was the subject of this lithograph from an 1839 history of California. The illustration was captioned "Californian Mode of Catching Cattle, With a Distant View of the Mission St. Joseph [San Jose]."

and very poor Californian Spaniard . . . all that he had (and it was but little) was at our disposal. A more miserable supper I never sat down to; but the spirit of genuine hospitality in which it was given imparted to the poor viands a flavor that was almost sumptuous. . . . A cup of water cheerfully given to the weary and thirsty traveller by him who has no more to part with, is worth a cask of wine grudgingly bestowed by the stingy or the ostentatious churl [p. 300].

Bryant also paid tribute to the deportment of the women.

There are no women in the world for whose manners nature has done so much, and for whom art and education have done so little. . . . In their deportment towards strangers they are queens when in costume they are peasants. None of them according to our taste can be called beautiful; but what they want in complexion and regularity of features, is fully supplied by the kindliness, the soul and sympathy which beam from their dark eyes, and their grace and warmth of manner and expression [pp. 298–99].

Bryant, in discussing the Californians' love of dress, sharply criticized their exploitation by fellow countrymen. Dana had blamed the Californians for letting themselves be overcharged for goods which they could make for themselves; Bryant, overlooking the possibility of home manufacture, concentrates the blame on the American companies who, he said, made \$1.50 to \$2.50 on every hide they brought to the eastern market.

Immense fortunes have been made by this trade; and between the government of Mexico and the traders on the coast, California has been literally *skinned*, annually for the last thirty years. . . . For a suit of clothes which in New York or Boston would cost seventy-five dollars, the Californian has been compelled to pay five times that sum in

hides at a dollar and fifty cents; so that a *caballero*, to clothe himself genteelly, has been obliged to sacrifice about two hundred of the cattle on his rancho. No people, whether males or females, are more fond of display; no people have paid more dearly to gratify this vanity; and yet no civilized people I have seen are so deficient in what they most covet [pp. 303-04].

In his summary chapter, Bryant presents a strikingly different portrait of the California male. After remarking that they are all "well made, with pleasing sprightly countenances" (p. 433), he praises their horsemanship with many of the same terms Dana uses (Bryant, p. 434). Gambling, horse racing, and bull and bear baiting are mentioned, but Bryant does not moralize; indeed he says that gambling losses are paid punctually. Californians are also law-abiding.

They have been accused of treachery and insincerity. Whatever may have been the grounds for these accusations in particular instances, I know not; but judging from my own observation and experience, they are as free from these qualities as our own people [pp. 434-35].

Even though *What I Saw in California* was published within four years of the battle for California, part of which it describes, there is already a softening of attitude toward the defeated. California hospitality is described and praised in several places and, in the passage above, contrasted favorably with that of "foreigners." Although Bryant does not join in the general praise of the beauty of California women, and attributes their queenly manners to nature rather than cultivation, his generalizations about their "soul and sympathy" show already a sentimentalization more akin to Pattie's romancing than to either the objective distaste of Dana or the defensive formality of Robinson. The criticism of Yankee exploitation and the favorable picture of California men are new attitudes from an American writer. But they are romantic attitudes, for Bryant, never having experienced the annoyance of an inefficient, corrupt, unstable Mexican government of California, saw only a gracious way of life which he must have realized was ending.

The experiences related in these four California narratives took place within a time span of twenty years, 1826-1846, and the divergence in attitude among the earliest three is probably due to the difference in station of the observer and his motives in publishing, rather than to an increase in understanding over the years. Bryant's support of the Californians, extending even to defending California men, is more remarkable, although it may simply be an example of the American sentiment for the vanquished. At any rate, the good character given by Bryant to the area's inhabitants must have made California sound even more attractive to prospective emigrants and helped the sale of the book.

All the writers' observations seem to present the following picture: the Californians were a people in a plantation economy. Some of them lived graciously, owning large herds of cattle, and commanding the services of Indian serfs, while others lived hand-to-mouth. The women were or were not casual in their morals (depending on which account one believes) and comparatively hard working. The men were cruel in their recreations; even their horsemanship, fabulous as it is agreed to have been, was tainted by the cruelty of the rowelled spur. The missions had enslaved the Indians before their own decay, and this decay had robbed

the Church of moral as well as temporal force. The government had been so weakened by the quarrels of rival generals that it commanded no loyalty against the Americans. Caste was cherished; the gentleman did no work, and everyone aspired to be a gentleman. Love of the gesture (hospitality) and the appearance (personal finery) had been cultivated, often at the expense of courage, integrity, and the eagerness for growth that is necessary to keep a society alive.

This is the general portrait of California on which these early writers concur. Their pictures differed in details, but essentially they portrayed the moribund society outlined above.

There was, however, romance in these ruins, romance which caught the fancy of these writers as well as later ones. Pattie saw the beauty and goodness of a California woman; Robinson was warmed by the hospitality of the well-off and the mission-dwellers; Bryant was charmed by the graciousness of the very poor. But none of them wrote as compellingly of the Californians as did Dana, the one who made the greatest effort to be objective. The California tradition owes more to this Boston Brahmin, more than half-hostile to the strange way of life about him, than to any of the others, because his initial distaste and unwilling fascination are much more convincing than the affection of Robinson and the romancing of Pattie and Bryant.

Dana, who came nearest to seeing this civilization in the stark terms sketched above, was deeply impressed with the courtliness of speech and gesture which evidenced a higher culture than the tawdry one he saw. And Dana fancifully attributed its decay to a malevolent power in a statement more romantic than any other in these works—a legend in a sentence:

They sometimes seemed to me to be a people on whom a curse had fallen, and stripped them of everything but their pride, their manners and their voices.

The beautiful voices Dana heard are still, but the pride which was behind the love of dress and the showy horsemanship and the manners which made hospitality so memorably gracious are the backbone of the California tradition.

THE LITHOGRAPHS on pages 79 and 80 are from Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California* . . . (London: 1839), facing pp. 273 and 199. The illustrations on pages 74 and 77 are from *Hutchings' California Magazine*, 1:389 (March, 1857) and 3:249 (December, 1858). The Forbes prints are courtesy The Bancroft Library.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

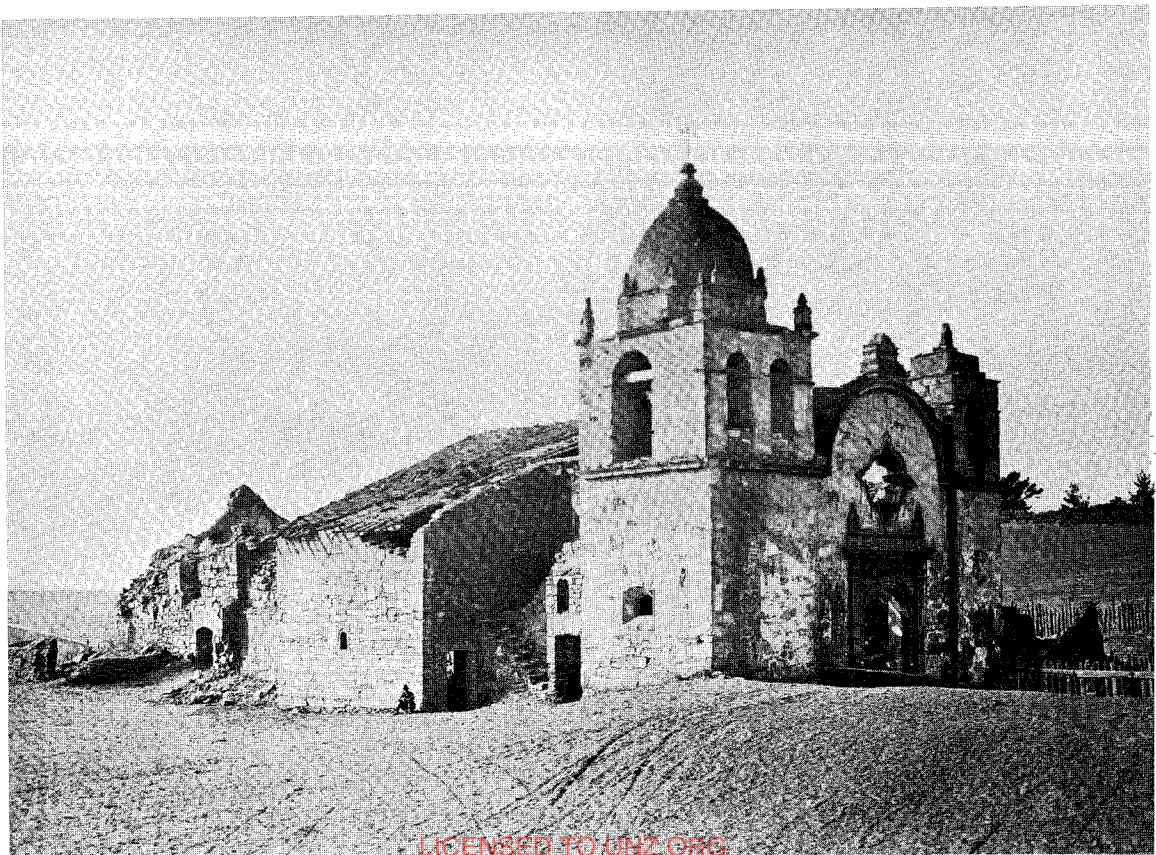
Pictorial Resources: Carleton E. Watkins Photographs

CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *instructor of history, Laney College, Oakland*

In 1849 two young men from Oneonta, New York, came to California seeking fame and fortune. One of them, railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington, succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. The other, Carleton E. Watkins, became one of California's finest pioneer photographers.

Last November, San Francisco's Focus Gallery at 2146 Union Street presented a major exhibition of Watkins' work. Featured were pictures from the photographer's Yosemite and California mission series, made with a specially constructed 18" by 22" camera. Nearly all of the Watkins negatives were destroyed in the 1906 holocaust; thus the surviving prints in the Focus show are of great historical value. The mission series has been purchased by the Rare Books and Special Collections Department at the library of the University of California, Los Angeles, while the Yosemite pictures belong to private collector Gordon Bennett.

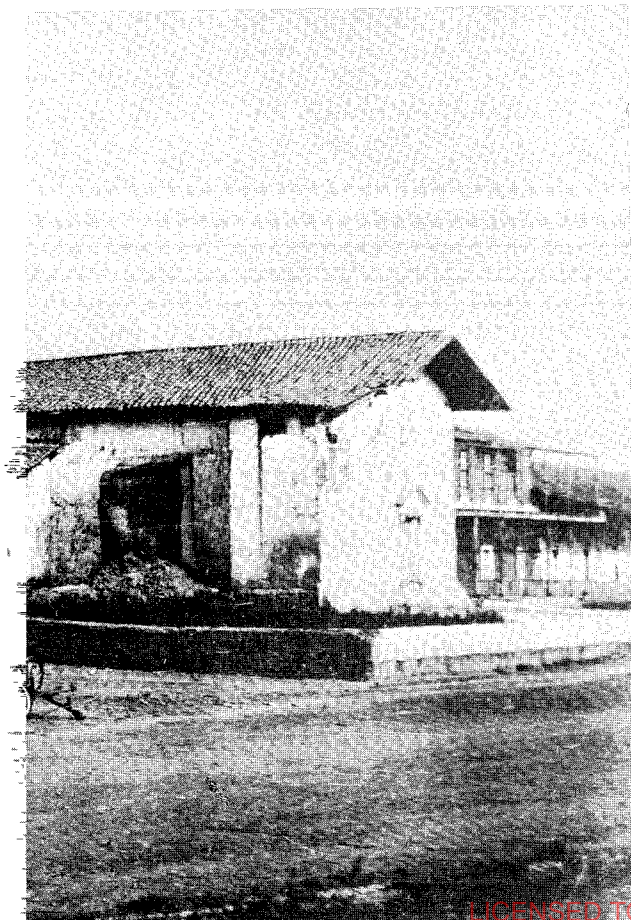
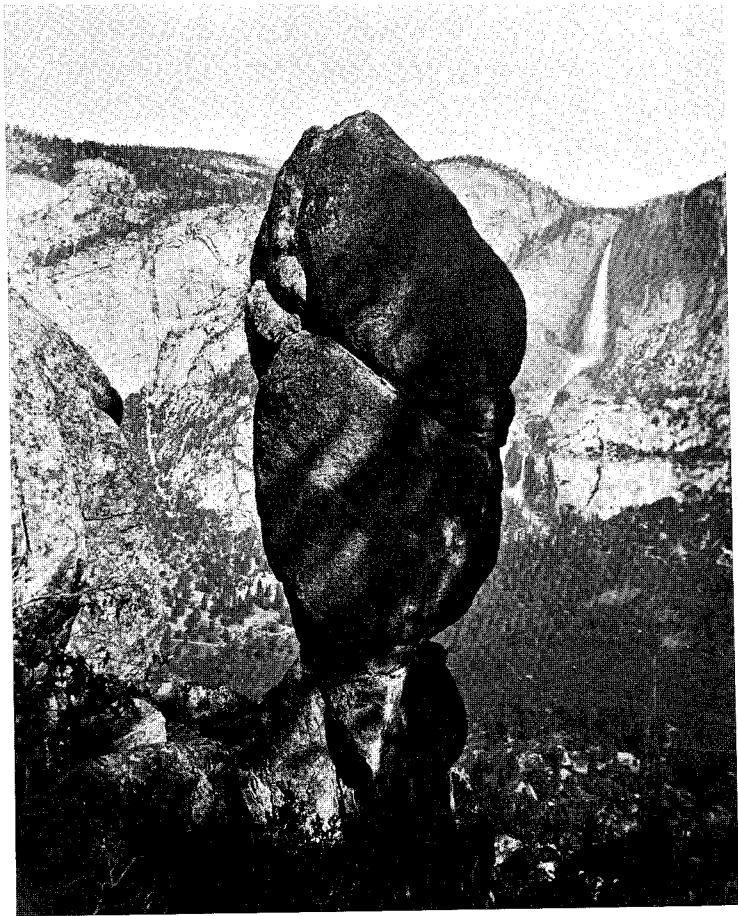
Once the headquarters of the California mission network, by 1876 Mission San Carlos del Carmelo had been reduced to little more than a shell.





Watkins photographed Mission San Juan Capistrano (left), established in 1776, long after it had been abandoned and before it was restored.

Legend has it that Watkins' photos influenced President Lincoln and Congress to grant to the state of California in 1864 Yosemite Valley for use as a state park. The valley was not included in the national park, created in 1890, until 1905.



Most of the structures in this view of Mission San Jose (left) were destroyed by earthquake.

Watkins opened his San Francisco studio in 1857, after learning the art of the daguerreotype in San Jose. In 1861 he journeyed to Yosemite Valley to make some of the earliest photographs of an area not yet aside for park purposes. One of the Yosemite prints won First Prize at the Paris International Exposition, and the series helped establish Watkins as a leading western photographer. Later he was to call his studio the Yosemite Art Gallery.

The mission series was photographed on a wagon trip through southern and central California in 1876. The pictures show most of the mission buildings in ruin, for it was a generation after secularization had occurred and many years before restoration began.

The stark, lonely quality of these photographs contrasts with the romantic grandeur with which painters portrayed Yosemite and the California missions during the late nineteenth century. Although Watkins was also an accomplished portrait photographer, the landscapes and mission pictures in the Focus show put little emphasis on man. When people occasionally appear in the photographs, they are dwarfed by nature or by massive mission walls. Some of the Yosemite views captured in Watkins' prints have been photographed again and again since his time, but Watkins must have been the first person to compose many of the now familiar scenes through a camera lens.

Legend has it that the old photographer, then seventy-seven, never recovered from the mental shock of witnessing the 1906 destruction of his studio and the glass plate negatives that represented his life work. Ten years later, an inmate at Napa State Hospital, Carleton E. Watkins died.

THE PHOTO on page 86, courtesy Society of California Pioneers; the others, courtesy Focus Gallery, San Francisco.

An unknown photographer witnessed the elderly Watkins being led from his studio during the 1906 fire. His life's work was destroyed.



Book Reviews

LONGTIME CALIFORN': A DOCUMENTARY STUDY OF AN AMERICAN CHINATOWN.
By Victor G. and Brett De Bary Nee. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973. xxvii,
411 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by PHILIP P. CHOY, *San Francisco architect.*

A popular theme in the current writing on the Chinese in America is that the Chinese are the bearers of 4,000 years of ancient wisdom and culture, and, therefore, worthy to be the recipients of the white man's benevolence. Each such writer is also compelled to include a list of so-called famous and successful men of that ethnic origin, to bear testimony to the fulfillment of the American Dream. On the other hand, writings from the ethnic communities echo the voices of angry men who have discovered that they have been short-changed in that same "American Dream."

Longtime Californ' neither embraces the American Dream nor is it a racially chauvinistic compilation of white America's guilt. But for those who flaunt the angry cries of the ghettos as flogging a dead horse, it is a reminder that our American dream has long since fermented into our American dilemma.

Using interviews gathered through several summers, the authors have documented and unfolded before the reader a social profile of America's oldest Chinatown, with all its complexity of the present and, yet, roots in the past within the historical perspective of the American West. As the authors themselves have discovered, "The response of white Americans to the fathers and grandfathers of the men who stand on Portsmouth Square today had decisively shaped the American Chinese society they entered at the turn of the century." To convey that the past is the basis for the present, the story of the Chinese community is divided chronologically into distinctive phases, that of the Bachelor Society, the Family Society, the New Working Class, and the Radicals.

Using personal interviews as the basis for the book has its merits—it imbues it with presence, as well as providing a surprising measure of information—but a danger lies in the unquestioning absorption of the interviews. An example can be found in the Bachelor Society categorization which, the authors maintain, characterized Chinatown at the turn of the century. These men were the victims of punitive immigration laws which condemned them to a life of bachelorhood. They repeatedly alluded to California's anti-miscegenation laws as a barrier to procreation. The resentment, however, is more an expression of indignation than a reality. The Chinese male had been thoroughly emasculated and was not a likely prospective husband for a white female.

In another section, the authors contend that the presence of small numbers of women slowly led to the establishment of the Family Society (defined by the authors as characterized by its small family businesses, where mother and father worked together while raising children in stores). For their children, a "stable family life," combined with the fading of anti-Chinese prejudice, led to a "tolerant attitude" toward discrimination by whites. However, the authors' definitive classifications (which wrap everyone into neat packages and place them in a specific time slot) are occasionally over-simplified. For an example, their narrow definition of the Family Society precludes those families without businesses, who did not fit either into the category of the Bachelor Society. Many fathers worked as cooks, servants, and janitors, and many mothers worked in the sewing factories, leaving their children to grow up unattended. Furthermore, some of the stability of the Family Society must have been uprooted with the exposure of their children to the white world. In addition, prior to the era of the New Working Class (defined as those individuals arriving in the 1960's), sons and wives were united with

fathers and husbands in America after long years of separation. Grown sons met fathers for the first time. This was not conducive to the establishment of a stable family, in spite of a tradition of filial piety.

Contrary to the authors' opinion, the outward appearance of stability in the family society is perhaps better interpreted as interest in maintaining a low profile—the tactic of not making any waves for fear of attracting attention. The Chinese would suffer the humiliation rather than revive the wrath of the white man. As to the authors' interpretation of “toleration of discrimination” by whites, it could well have been a defensive display of superiority made only to suppress the feeling of inferiority, rather than an expression of family stability.

In the discussion of the New Working Class, the emphasis is heavily on those who came after the liberalization of the immigration laws of the 1960's, bringing with them a new “dimension of spirit” and having “infused a new energy and hope.” Along with the small immigrant professionals, who “witnessed the transformation and emergence of modern China,” they brought “a new self-confidence and a new perspective to the American Chinese situation.” In this lauding of the new immigrants, however, the authors have underplayed the role of the American-born liberals and radicals of Chinatown—motivated by the civil rights movement and the counter-culture movement of the 1960's—as an equal force in bringing Chinatown out of its isolation.

Despite a few unbalanced views, the book does project a generally accurate image of the community: for example, both the Bachelor Society and the Family Society were under the influence of the merchant elite, who, as leaders in the institutions with the Chinese Six Companies, dominated the affairs of the community. This relationship, which has been made such a mystery, has been de-mystified, something which has been long overdue.

Much of the background material cited has a familiar ring, which this reviewer assumes reflects the work of H. M. Lai, a dedicated and prolific researcher to whom the book is dedicated.

Longtime Californ' belongs in that class of current books on ethnic studies which confronts the reader with the socio-economic realities of the process called American democracy.

CALIFORNIA: WHERE THE TWAIN DID MEET. By Anne Loftis. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1973. xiv, 281 pp. \$7.95.)

THE JEWS OF SAN FRANCISCO AND THE GREATER BAY AREA, 1859-1919. Sara G. Cogan, comp. (Berkeley: Western Jewish History Center, 1973. ix, 127 pp. \$22.50.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, reviews editor.

Moses Rischin, in his foreword to *The Jews of San Francisco and the Greater Bay Area*, notes that, “Unlike other cities, San Francisco has thus far eluded the attention of urban historians.” He claims that “the Far West’s pluralism, no less than its urbanism, has been obscured.” Perhaps this situation is changing. One of the best attended sessions of last December’s American Historical Association Convention in San Francisco was a program titled “Identity and Self-Perception in Nineteenth Century San Francisco,” and at another session on the “Historiography of the American West,” Howard Lamar of Yale commented on the remarkable growth of interest in the history of western cities and minority groups.

Both books under review here are examples of this new trend. According to Anne Loftis, *California: Where the Twain Did Meet* tells the story "of the conflict of people of different races and nationalities, of diverse skills and ambitions, in California. . . ." Loftis provides a good summary of the experiences of various non-white groups in the Golden State and gives plenty of evidence for her claim that "perhaps in no other state has race prejudice been so virulent against so many groups. . . ."

But did the "twain meet" in the positive sense of forging a healthy society and regional culture in California? To answer that question we need to know far more about the inter-relationships between the various ethnic and nationality groups than Loftis tells us. Her chapter on European immigrants fails to compare their experiences with those of non-whites and fails to analyze the conflicts between white immigrants and non-whites that so often have occurred in California.

We probably now know more about the history of Asians, blacks, and Chicanos in California than the history of the many white immigrant sub-cultures. Thus, the kind of scholarly pioneering done by Sara Cogan is of great value. Her *Jews of San Francisco and the Greater Bay Area* is an annotated bibliography which serves as a companion to her earlier *Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode*. Cogan has listed "all significant works by and about those individuals who reached maturity before 1919, with the exception of such figures as Adolph Sutro, Abraham Ruef, Adah I. Menken, and Emperor Norton, upon whom much has been written." The annotations are useful, and the foreword by Rischin, director of the Magnes Museum's Western Jewish History Center, contains thoughtful comments on the state of the historiography of cities and ethnic groups of the West.

CHILE, PERU, AND THE CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH OF 1849. By Jay Monaghan.
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. 320 pp. \$11.95.)

Reviewed by ABRAHAM P. NASATIR, *professor of history at California State University, San Diego, and author of the article on Chileans in this issue.*

Jay Monaghan, distinguished historical writer and scholar of the West, has attempted to place the California gold rush in a larger setting than most who write about that era. Having authored an excellent volume on Australia and the California gold rush, he now ventures into the field of Chile and Peru and the gold rush of 1849. Steeping himself in the literature, leaning heavily on Pérez Rosales' well-known diary and Hernández Cornejo's excellent two-volume *Los Chilenos en San Francisco* (which Monaghan's work makes more readable), and analyzing the newspapers of Valparaíso and Santiago for 1849, Monaghan has come up with a most readable account of the effects of the California gold rush on Chile and the participation of some Chilenos in that event. Had Monaghan been directed from the newspaper room about a hundred yards farther within the Biblioteca Nacional in Valparaíso, he could have read the diplomatic correspondence in the Archivo General and filled out his story with much more reliable materials than he used; he could also have consulted the California materials in the Archivo General which are now available in the United States.

However, Monaghan has added a great deal to the picture in two respects. One is the rounding out of biographical details about many of the characters and stories involving the Chileans in California. Secondly, he has given the first real account in English of the Peruvians in the California gold rush.

It is unnecessary to relate the many interesting stories and tales told by Monaghan of Chilenos and Peruvians in the gold rush. They are well told and based on solid research

His conclusions in both the case of Peru and Chile are sound and reasonable. His writing is entertaining, his accounts interesting, and his illustrations numerous. The volume is well printed by the University of California Press. Monaghan has buttressed his text with many footnote references (at the end of the book) and a bibliography.

Any scholar can cite picayunish faults in such a work. For example, this reviewer thinks that Monaghan has relied too heavily on Bunster at times, and in his account of the activities of the nativist and anti-Catholic "Hounds," he fails to consult the excellent work of Grivas, *Military Governments in California*. Despite Monaghan's disclaimer of a full bibliography, this reviewer misses such works as Vélez' *Historia de la Marina Mercante de Chile* or Carlos Lopez Urrutia's *Historia de la Marina de Chile*. Even Encina's work is not mentioned. Nonetheless, Monaghan has given us an admirable work on Chile and Peru and the California gold rush for the year 1849. This is not to say that he has given us a history of the Chilenos whose mark in California was also substantial in the years succeeding 1849—and still, in this reviewer's opinion, a part of the gold rush era. The latter remains to be written, as well as the official attitudes of the governments and their relations with, and to, California during this key mid-century event.

THE AMERICAN WEST: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY. By Robert V. Hine. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973. xii + 371 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by JOHN W. CAUGHEY, *distinguished scholar and teacher in the field of California history and professor emeritus of history at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

Robert Hine's *The American West* is the most charming running commentary on this subject since E. Douglas Branch's *Westward*, and that was a long time ago. As historians must, he narrates, though seldom if ever at chapter length. As his subtitle promises, he stops frequently to interpret or meditate on the reasons why, the state of mind of the pioneers, their expectations and how they were blunted, bent, or refracted. Because he is concerned with the influence of the frontier on the national character, he remarks on other interpreters, including self-styled historians, and their often fragmentary or distorted presentations and stereotyping.

At the outset Hine disavows any "pretense at objectivity or comprehensiveness." He proceeds then to exercise that option for free disclosure of his evaluations and opinions which, however, bear the stamp of having been objectively arrived at. Nor is his mood didactic or domineering. We gain the benefit of a fine scholarly mind.

Hine's disclaimer of comprehensiveness can be taken at face value. Chapters on New Spain, New France, and the English colonial frontier set the scene. The first concentrates on the conquistadores and explorers of the sixteenth century and then flows right into the late eighteenth century when Spanish holdings reached their zenith. It would be on these late Spanish borderlands that the "American" frontier would most impinge. The English chapter similarly stresses early seventeenth century beginnings and then jumps to the Paxton Boys and the South Carolina Regulators, bypassing the settling of the Piedmont, seen by many as the first genuinely American frontier.

Another four chapters progress from the 1780's to mid-nineteenth century. They deal with the fur trade, land policies and explorations, settlement of Texas and Oregon, and Manifest Destiny as affected by the Mexican and Civil Wars. In the last two thirds of the book the headings are topical by occupation (miners, the cowboy, railroad builders, the farmer) or by institutions (churches, schools, government) or by social texture (minorities, the western hero, the West as art, violence, and the western experience). In

some of these chapters there is a reaching back to earlier instances, but essentially the setting is the West of 1849 to 1890.

Freshness of detail, emphasis on personalities, and a fine feel for the telling phrase make this book an evocation of the period West. The illustrations fit the meditative mood. On New Spain they begin with Remington's *Conquistador*, Spanish cruelty to the Indians as visualized at a distance by De Bry and Champlain, and pastoral California in the far-ahead 1820's as limned by Choris and James Walker. A few are photographs; most are artists' conceptions of the frontier.

The eight or ten standard historical surveys of similar title were written as though for readers entirely innocent. Hine's is different. It will be better appreciated by those somewhat acquainted in the field. College students who have negotiated about two thirds of a course on the American West or an entire course on a major western state should find it stimulating, and many an uncamped but attentive aficionado of western history, of whom there are many, should find it rewarding.

HETCH HETCHY AND ITS DAM RAILROAD. By Ted Wurm. (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1973. 298 pp. Illustrations. \$13.50.)

Reviewed by JOHN B. MCGLOIN, S.J., *professor of history at the University of San Francisco.*

This work is a pleasing and satisfying example of a needed book done by the one best equipped to write it. All students in the field of San Franciscana are aware of the importance of the Hetch Hetchy story and know that, until this present publication, numerous references have been made to it but no complete and accurately researched treatment has been available. For filling this niche and eliminating this need, readers of Ted Wurm's book will continue to thank him and his commendable industry. Here, then, an integral part of San Francisco's past and present is presented in attractive format—including "480 informative illustrations."

Mention is made in these pages of the so-called "Spirit of Hetch Hetchy," and it would appear that this is not mere fiction; it seems to this reviewer that the author is completely filled with it. His friends know how long and diligent have been his researches which have now given us this handsome volume; a rail fan of wide repute and already an author, Ted Wurm determined years ago that he would do the Hetch Hetchy story in what he hoped would be a satisfactory dimension. This he has now done. One finds a nice blending of two narratives—that of the Hetch Hetchy water project in general (and here the names of Mayor James D. Phelan, City Engineer Marsden Manson, Mayor James Rolph, Jr., and, especially, the "Chief," Michael M. O'Shaughnessy, are prominently mentioned) and that of the "Dam Railroad" (!) which was constructed to deliver supplies to the project and which had a very unique history indeed. Gone now, it surely has an honored place in the Valhalla of Transportation.

It was to be expected that such an ambitious project as the Hetch Hetchy water plan to bring mountain water from a distance of 150 miles to a thirsty city would be the subject of much controversy and, at times, the plaything of politics. As the necessary railroad pushed its railhead forward and as the various dams and other facilities were built, it took men of stubborn vision to press onward in spite of sturdy opposition. The vision of some very great men—a number of them hitherto unsung—is duly hailed in these pages. Long since, the whole project has more than justified itself; indeed, one is hard-put to envision San Francisco today without its regular delivery of Hetch Hetchy water from the Sierra. One gets the feel of it all here as Ted Wurm unfolds what became

to him a labor of love: he lived, ate, and breathed his story, and one senses that from his detailed and accurate narrative. All of the pictures are most helpful and their collection, in itself, demonstrates the industry of the author. As usual, Howell-North put the entire package together in its customary attractive manner. Indeed, the only flaw that this reviewer can find in a thoroughly enjoyable volume is that there appear to be no visible flaws at all. (What a delight to be able to write such sentiments occasionally!) Here, then, is a most valuable addition to the literature of San Francisco history.

California Check List

PETER EVANS, *CHS librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1972 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, be sure to give the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Peter A. Evans, Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free.

- Ainsworth, Katherine. *The McCallum Saga—The Story of the Founding of Palm Springs*. Palm Springs: The Palm Springs Desert Museum. 1973. \$?; 245 pp.
- Averbuch, Bernard. *Crab Is King; The Colorful Story of Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco*. San Francisco: Mabuhay Publishing Co. 1973. \$2.95; 190 pp.
- Baird, Joseph A., Jr., and Edwin Clyde Evans. *Historic Lithographs of San Francisco*. San Francisco: Steven A. Waterson for Burger and Evans. 1972. \$375; 40 pp. 48 lithographs; Burger & Evans, 3421 Geary Blvd., San Francisco, CA 94109.
- Bohakel, Charles A. *A Guidebook to Mt. Diablo, the "Devil" Mountain of California*, rev. ed. n.p.: Charles A. Bohakel. 1973. \$1.50; 20 pp.; Charles Bohakel, 4 Brisdale Pl., Antioch, CA 94509.
- Boyd, William Harland, ed. *A Climb Through History: From Caliente to Mount Whitney in 1889*. Richardson, Texas: The Havilah Press. 1973. \$6.50; 64 pp.; 807 Clearwater Drive, Richardson, Texas 75080.
- Butte County Branch, National League of American Pen Women. *Butte Remembers*. Chico: Butte County Branch, NLAPW. 1973. \$5.50 plus tax; 84 pp.; Mrs. Walter Clarke, 1505 Citrus Ave., Chico, CA 95926.
- Carpenter, Edwin H. *Early Cemeteries of the City of Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$10.00; 50 pp.
- Chandler, Samuel C. "Gateway to the Peninsula"; *A History of the City of Daly City*. Daly City: City of Daly City. 1973. \$6.00; 150 pp.; Daly City Public Library, 275 Southgate Ave., Daly City, CA 94015.
- Clover, Haworth A. *Hesperian College, 1861–1896*. Burlingame: The Hesperia Press. 1973 (?). \$12.50 plus tax; 140 pp.; P.O. Box 1583, Burlingame, CA 94010.
- Chatters-Hallack Family History and Genealogy. Lindsay: Mt. Whitney Litho., Inc. 1973. \$2.50; 54 pp.; 140 East Honolulu St., Lindsay, CA 93247.
- Couro, Ted, and Christina Hutcheson. *Dictionary of Mesa Grande Diegueno*. Banning: Malki Museum Press. 1973. \$5.02; 118 pp.; Malki Museum, 11–795 Fields Rd., Banning, CA 92220.
- Curtiss, Richard D. *Thomas E. Williams & The Fine Arts Press*. Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1973. \$12.50; 119 pp.
- Delano Historical Society. "Where the Railroad Ended," *Delano Centennial Yearbook*. Delano: Delano Historical Society. 1974. \$0.00; Dick Yount, Centennial Commission, 1826 7th Ave., Delano, CA 93215.
- Doten, Alfred. *The Journals of Alfred Doten*, 3 vols. Edited by Walter Clark. Reno: Univ.

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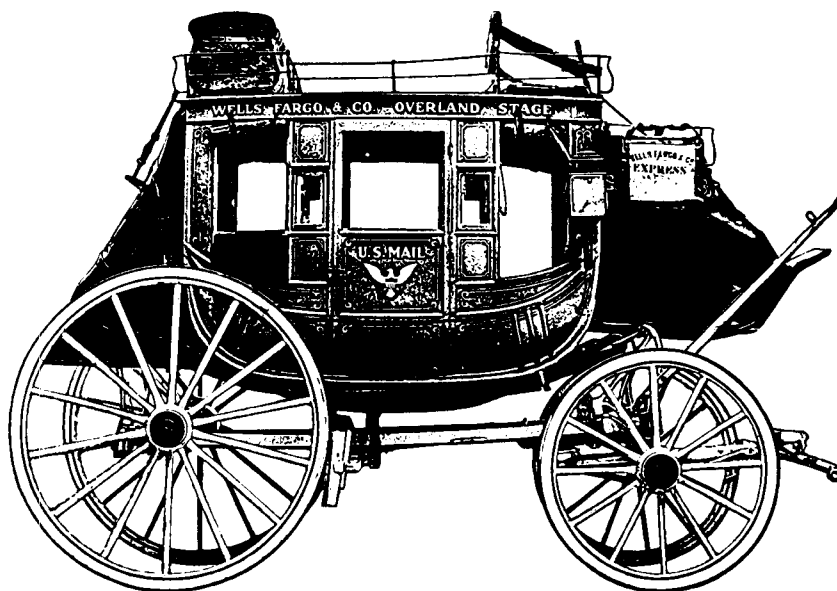
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